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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

HELD AT

NAGPORE

On the 28th and the 30th of December 1910

COMPILED BY

MOULVI MOHAMMAD AZIZ MIRZA,

Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

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ANNUAL SESSIONS
OF
The All-India Muslim League
FOR
1910 A. D.

Nagpur, 28th December 1910.

FIRST SITTING.

THE Fourth Sessions of the All-India Muslim League began on 28th of December 1910. According to the original programme the League Sessions were to come off immediately after the meetings of the Educational Conference were over, *i.e.*, on the 30th and 31st of December 1910, but unforeseen circumstances necessitated a change in the dates, and so it was decided to hold the first sitting of the League on 28th of December 1910, at 9 o'clock, in the Macdonnel Town Hall instead of the Pandal, as originally intended. The Town Hall, in spite of the short time at the disposal of the Reception Committee, was gaily decorated and afforded accommodation for more than a thousand persons, but local enthusiasm ran so high that the Reception Committee were unable to provide seats for all. The Hall was entirely packed up and many people had to be content with standing room in the verandahs. One of the galleries was occupied by Muslim ladies and the other by members of the family of Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak and other gentlemen of his sect. There were on the *dais* only three gentlenem, H. H. the Aga Khan, Mr. Syed Nabiulla, the President-elect, and Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak, Chairman of the Reception Committee. The earnestness and enthusiasm which characterised the

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deliberations of the League were indeed remarkable. The members of the League mustered strong, although Nagpur is almost an out-of-the way place and is not in direct railway connection with the great centres of Muslim population. The leaders of the C. P. and the Berars and specially the veteran President of the Reception Committee, who had invited the League to hold its Sessions at Nagpur on their own responsibility, will have the satisfaction that their unstinted and sustained efforts coupled with the enthusiastic co-operation of their co-religionists elsewhere have culminated in unqualified success. The Muslims of the C. P. have demonstrated beyond doubt that although backward in education, they have in them great potentialities of progress and advancement and would one day take their proper place in the administration of their Province. The magnetic personality of H. H. the Aga Khan was another factor which contributed to the success of the Sessions. The practical and thorough manner in which the various subjects were discussed in the successive Sessions of the League held out a hope that Musalmans have once for all thrown away their lethargy, and will henceforward be in the van of Indian progress.

On the 27th of December 1910, His Highness the Aga Khan, the President of the All-India Muslim League, reached Nagpur and received a cordial welcome both on the station-platform and in the city. He was garlanded and received with shouts of "MARHABA" and taken through the city in a Motor-car, followed by a procession of Motors and carriages, a band playing all the time. The route through the city covering about two miles was decorated with flowers, foliage, triumphal arches and flags and he received magnificent ovations at each turn. Even Mohammadan ladies threw flowers from windows and terraces. Among those who received him on the platform were Prince Ghulam Mohammad of the ex-Royal family

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of Mysore, the Hon'ble Syed Shamshul Huda and Nawab Nasirul Momalik Khan Bahadur Mirza Shujaat Ali Beg (Persian Consul-General) from Calcutta, the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mohammad, Mr. Yakub Hasan and Nawab Ghulam Ahmad Khan from Madras, the Hon'ble Mr. Fazulbhoy, the Hon'ble Mr. Ibrahim Rahmatullah, the Hon'ble Moulvi Rafiuddin and Mr. Kazi Kabiruddin from Bombay, Raja Naushad Ali Khan and Messrs. Syed Wazir Hasan and Syed Zahur Ahmad from the United Provinces, Mr. Abdul Aziz from Peshawar, Khan Saheb Mohamad Azam from Eastern Bengal and Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and the representatives of all the twenty-two District Muslim Leagues from the Central Provinces and the Berars.

The next day saw the arrival of Mr. Syed Nabiullah, the President-designate of the Nagpur Sessions of the Muslim League. He was also accorded a cordial reception and was garlanded on the platform by the representatives of the community and the members of the Reception Committee.

When the members of the League and visitors had taken their seats Mr. Nabiullah entered the Town Hall and was received with cheers and conducted to the *dais*. His Highness the Aga Khan then came after half an hour and was received with loud cheers, every one present in the Hall standing up till he had taken his seat.

The proceedings commenced with the recitation of appropriate verses from the Holy Koran, which were listened to with rapt attention by all present. Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak, the President of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the members of the League on behalf of his Committee, delivered an impressive and instructive address, in which he discussed in detail all the burning questions of the day. He said :-

YOUR HIGHNESS, DELEGATES AND GENTLEMEN,—As Chairman of the Reception Committee it is my proud privilege to welcome you, our

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esteemed guests, to Nagpur, a city which in many ways presents a strong contrast to Delhi, where you assembled last. This city is not, I admit, classic ground. It does not draw our pulses as Delhi does,- so rich in historic associations and so lovely in her desolation ; and yet Nagpur is by no means an unfit place for the meeting of the All-India Muslim League ; for the life and motion and the many-sided activity, the signs of which are all around you, are typical of the new order of Eastern and Western ideas which, without killing our deep spiritual life,—that precious heritage of every Musulman—have inspired us with a sense of social duty incompatible with a life of cloistered seclusion and pale asceticism, and it is the sense of social duty that has brought together from all parts of India a band of self-denying gentlemen representing the intelligence, the culture, the wealth and the public spirit of the country and of the community, fired with the noblest and purest purposes, resolved to do their duty to their country and their community and confident in their destiny. For good or for ill we stand face to face with a new world and must adapt ourselves to the environment. The problems which now meet us cannot be solved by piety and philosophy alone, and under the new conditions which have arisen, political and social action is essential to our progress as loyal and law-abiding citizens of the British Empire. Nagpur, therefore, is, I repeat, not an unfit place for the discussion of the new problems which have arisen. Indeed, in some ways, this city, being situated in the centre of India and within easy reach of all the Provinces and for which reason it ought to have been the capital of the British Empire in India, is a fitter place than Delhi.

The committee, of which I have the honour to be the Chairman, consists of representatives of all sections of the community and of the Province. With short notice at our disposal, and amidst many difficulties not unknown to you, the Reception Committee have spared no pains to make arrangements which we hope will prove satisfactory to you. But we regret we have not been able to accord you a more fitting reception. We, however, feel certain that you will kindly take our will for the deed and overlook any shortcomings in the arrangements made for your comfort and convenience.

The highest dictates of patriotism require that our sympathy should go forth to the help of the backward and destitute, and that by sharing what has been given to us with our co-religionists in distress we should conclusively establish our claims to speak for them and to demand their co-operation with us in the struggle for the regeneration of our community. Our claims to their regard and love should be based upon substantial services and not merely on lip-sympathy expressed in paper resolutions. Our illustrious and distinguished leaders, keeping these points in view, decided to hold the annual sessions of the All-India

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Muslim League at Nagpur, for which the Musulmans of the Central Provinces and Berars are deeply grateful.

It is, however, impossible to say anything new upon current topics without repeating what has been often better said before. But as the call has to be complied with, without further preface, I shall take you through some important events of the year. Though not first in the order of time, the demise of one of the wisest Sovereigns of the world deserves first resolution. The death of His Most Gracious Majesty the King Emperor Edward VII, the world's peacemaker, saddened the hearts of the high and the low and darkened the horizon of the Empire. His Majesty successfully continued the policy of his august Mother, who gave the Indians the splendid Charter of their rights and liberties in 1858. It has been truly remarked by the non-Muslim observers that the British Crown has no more loyal and devoted subjects than the Musulmans of India; to them the British Sovereign is not a foreign ruler but like their own Emperor, the continuance of whose beneficial sway is essential to the peace and prosperity of India. Their loyal attachment to the new King and his gracious Consort is no less profound than that entertained towards the late Monarch and Queen Alexandra. The sentiments of the League in respect to the Imperial bereavement and the accession of King George V. will be formulated by this Nagpur sessions of the League. Therefore I need not dwell at length on this topic.

His Excellency Lord Minto, who has been our Viceroy for the last five years, has now left us. But His Lordship's place is among the great Viceroys whose names are remembered with gratitude and affection as benefactors and friends of the communities of India. We may say without the least exaggeration that the situation in India, after the regime of Lord Curzon, called for a statesman of great gifts of character and sagacity, and that Lord Minto has fully proved himself to be such a statesman. His services to India and the Empire can be fully estimated if we could imagine what would have happened if, in his place, we had had a Viceroy less endowed with the virtues of insight, sympathy and self-effacement. Such a contingency makes one's flesh creep even in the mere contemplation.

His Excellency touched the deepest chords of the hearts of the seventy millions of the most loyal and grateful Musulmans and brightened their vision of the future. We beg to assure him of our sincere gratitude for all that he has done and our heartfelt prayer is that he may enjoy his rest with that happiness which work well-attempted and conscientiously done brings to such personalities. We desire to offer our sincere and dutiful welcome to His Excellency Lord Hardinge, and beg permission to express the hope that his rule may fulfil the expectations which are given expression.

By associating Indians with the actual governing body of the Empire the Government of India has given proof of its loyal adherence to the

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Magna Charta of India, and restored, as by a touch, their confidence in the intentions and in the integrity of British rule. The Legislative Councils of India had undergone expansions before, but there are certain features of their present enlargement, which mark a distinct stage in Indian political evolution. The direct recognition of the communal interests of the important Muslim community, the right to move resolutions, to discuss the budget and to put supplementary questions and the chief of these, the appointment of Indians to the executive councils of the Viceroy and of Provincial Governments, has touched the imagination of the people as a signal vindication of the great Charter Act of 1833 and the gracious proclamation of Queen Victoria of 1858, showing clearly that the promise of equal treatment given by the Sovereign and Parliament to the subjects of the Crown in this country is no mere empty phrase or idle boast, but it is a solemn obligation undertaken by the rulers with a full sense of responsibility, and meant to be realised in actual practice in fulness of time.

The Reforms have thus laid the foundation of constitutional progress for this country and Lords Minto and Morley, whose names will be inseparably associated, have by their inauguration earned our undying gratitude. Lord Minto had the satisfaction of presiding over the new Council which his sympathy and earnestness enabled him to bring into existence. His Excellency for the first time in the annals of our Administrators, had an Indian as his colleague in the Executive Council. The appointment of the Hon'ble Syed Ali Imam, a sound lawyer and a statesman, after the resignation of Mr. Sinha, has created a precedence for representing the communal interests on the Viceroy's Executive Council, which Lord Minto's successors will find it inexpedient to ignore. It is hoped that this precedence will find a permanent place in the Statute Book. I here take the opportunity of warmly and sincerely congratulating the Hon'ble Syed Ali Imam. The appointment of a Mahomedan Member in the Council of the Secretary of State for India, after the resignation of Mr. Syed Husain Bilgrami, C. S. I., has confirmed our conviction of the representation of the Mahomedan element on the Secretary of State's Council. I heartily congratulate the Hon'ble Mr. Mirza Abas Ali Beg on h s appointment to the India Council.

It may not be deemed presumptuous on the part of the Mahomedans to think that some amongst them might also be found eligible for holding a seat on the Executive Council of the Lieutenant-Governor. I am sure the community which has supplied a member for the Privy Council and Viceroy's Executive Council, Secretary of State's Council, can well afford to supply on demand a member for the Executive Council of the Lieutenant-Governor.

It will not be out of place to bring to the notice of the benign Government the reality of the disappointment which has been felt by the Musulmans of the Punjab at the denial to them of the right of separate

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representation on the Imperial Council. The Central Provinces and the Berars have even a more serious grievance—that they have no Legislative Council at all. And the legislation of Berar is all by order in Council. The teeming millions of these Provinces deserve the sympathy of those more fortunately situated, and we have no doubt the Muslim League will adopt a resolution in favour of the establishment of a Legislative Council at Nagpur and it will also pass a resolution praying the Government to represent the Mahomedans of the Central Provinces and the Berars on the Imperial Councils. Our Chief Commissioner, the Hon'ble Mr. Craddock, has done much to ameliorate the condition of the fallen Musulmans of these Provinces, for which the community in general and the Musulmans of the Provinces in particular are deeply grateful to him and offer their most respectful thanks. But Government, however well-meaning, cannot undertake any comprehensive scheme of national regeneration. This we must be prepared to do ourselves and for ourselves, not by isolated efforts but by an earnest and effective combination of all the forces of the entire community.

Now I touch a question which has more or less drawn the attention of the leaders of the two great communities, Hindus and Musulmans. Is it possible to strengthen the solidarity of political unity of these two great communities? There is no doubt that the general tendency of evolution is in the direction of unity, and it is at the same time in the direction of gradually increasing specialisation and differentiation. The two processes run side by side and may be observed not only in the wider evolution of communities and nations, but also in the smaller sphere of individual development. The question arises, therefore,—how are we to synthesise and reconcile two such apparent oppositions? In what sense can unification and specialisation form part of one homogeneous process? There is in undeveloped nations a kind of dull, inert unity, proportionate to their lack of development, as soon as a nation begins to grow, the tendency is towards the specialisation through education and other formative influences of the units which compose it. This at first leads to difference—but the final unity can only emerge through continuance along this line. Out of increasing differentiation must grow that final unification, which comes from the perfecting, not from the negating of national development. It must be a unity which grows out of forward movement, not the unity of passive juxtaposition. Only as the individuals of a nation become more highly organized with the consciousness of an underlying oneness, annulling the bounds of caste, creed and community, begin to emerge. Applying these remarks to India, we observe that they suggest this important truth—that the cause of unity must be differently served, according to the existing state of development of the race or community concerned. In some cases unity may be directly striven for through the transcending of differences. But this is only the case when the community in question has

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already developed the required amount of specialisation—in other words, has risen sufficiently high in the scale of civilization and culture. In others the differentiating process has yet to be gone through, and no unity can be hoped for until this has been completed. It is obvious from a superficial glance at India, as it is to-day, that the class which is calling most earnestly for unity is simply that class which has itself become most highly specialized, the educated class, which has reached a position in which the transcending of accidental differences can suggest itself as a matter of practical politics. But it must not be forgotten that the enormous majority of the inhabitants of India are still at the stage where the whole process of differentiation still remains to be begun. They have not yet commenced to climb the scale which can alone lead to that widening consciousness from which the idea of unity can alone be begotten. The true idea of unity springs from within; that which comes from opposition to a common antagonist is merely artificial and contains no element of permanent life; with the removal of the antagonistic factor it slips back again into disunion and mutual strife. The unity which is to possess the genuine nation building quality, is of an altogether different order. It is an intellectual necessity, and only comes into consciousness when men have reached a point where their every excess of individualism begins to render the manifold problems of their common life insoluble except by a further advance, which can only be in the direction of a negative of differences. This point is being reached rapidly in the West where individualisation has reached almost the highest pitch. But to the impartial observer, India—even the greater part of educated India—is still at some distance from it. The process of separation of specialization of the individual has still to be gone through by the great majority of the people, before we can hope to have a genuinely unified Indian nation. What we see around us to-day, the division of caste from caste, of race from race, of creed from creed—is, for the present, the natural expression of the evolutionary process. It denotes the struggle for self-expression by the units of the race and has to be continued until at least a large proportion of the Indian people has passed through the process of separate and individual development. This which alone can render them organic parts of a common and unified nation is the work of education, of individual initiative and enterprise. Without these necessary preliminaries the true and inner unity cannot be actualized. There is, however, no harm in sinking petty differences of the two great communities for the progress of the country and the cause of good government, and it is the look-out of our distinguished and illustrious leaders to draw a line of demarcation, if possible, between the two great communities of India. We identify ourselves with all that aims at the general advancement of the true interests of the country. We have a rooted conviction that the true interests of the country lie in the

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maintenance of cordial relations among the Indian communities and that the true political ideal is one that aims at peaceful progress of such a national character as subserves the protection and advancement of the interests of all denominations. At the same time it is our firm conviction that on our genuine co-operation with the British Government depends our future progress and the development of a further social and political life. We are convinced that the plant of the political rights of a subject race thrives best in the soil of loyalty. In our relations with Government, therefore, we cannot afford to permit malice to cross our path, warp our judgment and create disaffection. We have given a practical proof of our loyalty, and it is our bounden duty, before we ask for a recognition of any of our rights, as honest citizens, to realize the responsibility and to give a solemn account of our utterances to ourselves. We should never let ourselves be tempted to express frivolous opinions on serious matters or make ourselves ridiculous by allowing mere love of notoriety usurp the solemn functions of patriotism and loyalty.

Now referring to the question of the separate representation of the Musulmans on Municipal and District Boards, I have only to say that short of it our doom will be more or less sealed and all the privileges of the extension of Local Self-Government will be a sealed-book to the Musulmans. The question of our proper representation on Municipal and District Boards has assumed a grave importance and the adoption of the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission will further enhance the value and status of all local bodies. I am strongly in favour of provision being made for the separate representation of the Musulmans to an extent which will enable them to be adequately represented on these bodies, regard being had to their numerical proportion, their influence and their position in each district, province and in the country at large.

The other point which engages the serious attention of the Muslim community is the question of Urdu *versus* Hindi and Punjabi. There cannot be a shadow of doubt that Urdu is the *lingua franca* of India. Often a Hindi rendering of an Urdu word is so transparently outlandish that it is intelligible only to those who know the original Urdu. When the Mahomedans were the rulers of India Urdu came to stay in India permanently and became the mother-tongue of the Indians. Even in the language of business and of culture Urdu words are adopted because no Hindi equivalents have been supplied and made ready to hand. Community of language is universally admitted to be a powerful factor in securing the unity of a people, and Urdu, which is already spoken by the Indians and understood in all parts of this vast continent, is pre-eminently fitted to serve this purpose. Urdu has done incalculable good to Government. The tone of the Urdu Press, in the recent storm and stress, has been most loyal and respectful. The sphere of the

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influence of Urdu is extending gradually in spite of the efforts in certain quarters to check the advance. Even in such distant parts of the Empire as Madras, Nepal, and the dark corners of Assam, people whose mother-tongue is Tamil, Telugu, and Bengali are increasingly adopting Urdu for all practical purposes and are founding schools in which Urdu forms the medium of instruction. A language which possesses such inherent capacity and virtues deserves the solid support of the community and the country.

I now pass on to the urgent question of the Indians in Transvaal. No one would have forgotten the speeches of Mr. Polak and the other stirring speeches at the Delhi sessions of the All-India Muslim League and the ready response evoked from delegates and visitors alike since the resolutions were adopted in the Viceroy's Council and the Government of India have passed a Bill taking power to prohibit Indian emigration to the colonies should necessity arise therefor. A wave of feeling has passed over the country in connection with this matter, such men as his Lordship the Bishop of Madras, their Highnesses the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Maharaja of Mysore contributing to the fund in aid of the Indians deported from the Transvaal. There seems to be just now some hope of a settlement of the issues between the Colonial Government and the Indian settlers, but no one can be sure of the ultimate ending of the struggle and the Muslim League has to give attention to it.

I will now make a few general observations on the "unrest" in India. It cannot be denied that there is discontent throughout the country, in varying degrees. This is mainly due to turbulent spirits, especially among the younger generation, who sick with disappointment and with shattered faith, have spurned the co-operation of their leaders and openly advocate the establishment of an absolutely free and independent form of national government in India. A few adults have been also carried away by the grandeur of the ideal of absolute autonomy without consideration of the long, weary and useless steps that will have to be taken. As free and full a local self-Government as can be had, is, I hold, as noble and inspiring an ideal as can be thought of in the conditions of the country to stimulate the political activity and weld the inhabitants of India into a nation worthy of the traditions of the past and fitted to play their part in the economy of the world.

I can conceive of nothing more certain to retard, nay, to stay progress of the country altogether, than what is being done by some who place absolute autonomy as the ideal to be striven for before the young and undeveloped minds whose capacity for mature judgment is not so sound as their imagination is powerful, and work upon their sentiments and lead them to form habits of thought and action subversive of the best interests of the country.

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The Government of India has been compelled, owing to the growing discontent, to enact repressive laws, to restore lawfulness and peace in the country. Now as all experience tells, secret crime invariably dogs the footsteps of coercion, that which has happened in every other country, happened in India. I rejoice to find that the year under review had less ghastly assassinations to account for than the previous years. The voice of both the leaders of the two communities of India has been practically unanimous in condemning the anarchical crimes which have been committed in some parts of India. We deplore these crimes as being against the instincts and traditions of the Indians. We execrate the misguided youth who indulge in them, as they have brought on a gentle, law-abiding and humane people the reproach of being violent, wicked and cowardly. We sympathise with the efforts that are being made to root out the evil, and we rejoice to find that the evil tendencies are gradually and imperceptibly receiving a wholesome check. We condemn from the bottom of our hearts all seditious movements and we condemn anarchism most because it is opposed to the laws of God as well as of man. I am convinced that with the reforms in the administration the sedition will wear itself out. We must also remember that though the Government has been armed with some new weapons but they have been rarely used. In fairness to Government we should, however, remember that in the present state of the country a measure of the kind is necessary.

Turning from this sad picture, I am most happy to say that the general feeling of all classes of His Majesty's subjects throughout Indi towards the British Government is one of deep gratitude for the many blessings conferred on India, the most important of which are security of life and property, liberal education, medical and famine reliefs, sanitation and facilities of communication. The movement of human progress is hard to follow. Often we seem to lose sight of it altogether. It is not like the march of a regiment along the highway, it is like the advance of a crowd, making for some point which only a few know how to find. Look at them from a height and you see that each individual in the crowd has a path of his own. One keeps straight on, another is describing a circle, which brings him back to his starting point in due time; another has turned into the wrong road and is calling the rest to follow him. Even those who held the steadiest course are often turned back or aside by unexpected obstacles. It is difficult, therefore, to map out the path of progress either retrospectively or prospectively with perfect certainty. We should, however, remember with gratitude the debt we owe to Government. Our just Government in general and the Government of this Province in particular are ever ready to look into our grievances and to help us in all our legitimate aspirations. We have given unmistakable proof of our loyalty. We disdain all spurious loyalty. We do not wear our loyalty

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on our sleeves, for our loyalty is above all suspicion. To doubt our loyalty is to doubt our sanity.

I have also a word of warning and counsel to the students to whom I hope my voice will reach. The best hopes for the future of the community are based on them. Their earnestness is an asset for us, which if turned to account, will materially add to the progress of the community. It is from their midst that the Province, in time to come, hopes to supply her share of zealous workers in the cause of good government. Our students, it has to be said to their credit, with a foresight and prevision, which are not the usual accomplishments of youth, have pointed out the path to us of duty and have kept themselves during the recent storm and stress, within reasonable bounds. The principles of fair play and mutual accommodation and of respect for the right of others have been their guide in their present career. Let each one of them carry into his fuller life the lessons that he has striven to learn now. The students must engrave it on the tablet of their heart that they are loyal first and anything else afterwards. They must not allow themselves to be weaned from that loyalty which is due from them all to the Crown. The maintenance of its dignity should be their first and primal consideration. The time is not far distant when their present cares will be exchanged for those of the sterner realities of life. They will then be face to face with social problems and political difficulties. My advice to them now is this that they must remain out of touch with politics and they must be guided by the sober guidance of their teachers and superiors of sound judgment.

I now desire, with your kind indulgence, to add a word on the lessons that seem to me to arise from the experience of different nations—lessons which are pertinent to our community at this juncture.

Turning to ancient Egypt, once the centre of the most advanced civilization of the time, we discover that vast resources, agricultural and mineral, are not alone sufficient to produce a cultured and permanent civilization.

Egypt in ancient times had abundant resources, but failing to note the value of human life, failing to conserve the interests of the millions of the working masses, she sank from the pinnacle of power and culture into political servitude and academic decay. The nation that despises its humblest and most backward class, that provides for them no opportunity to rise in the social scale and in self-esteem, is building its house upon the sands of time. The wealth of the nation is the quality of its manhood.

Greece fell from her eminence, not from any failure of philosophical or æsthetic or political insight, in these directions she has been the chief source of inspiration for the whole western world. Pericles, Plato and Aristotle are still household names in the West. Athens faded away like a fragrant memory because she failed to look to the economic bases

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of her prosperity. Had she taken pains to utilize her splendid maritime location for the development of commerce and industry, had she confided her commercial affairs to her freemen instead of her slaves, had she applied the sagacity of her statesmen to the formation of a sound fiscal policy, the story of Athens might have had a different denouement. But she wasted her mineral resources, and expended large sums in the erection of great temples and art and learning. Far be it from me to suggest any criticism against a civilization which has been the fountain-head of all subsequent growth in the culture of the West. I would simply point out that without a permanent and stable economic policy, no civilization, however enlightened, can long endure. This is the message of ancient Greece to our community and country.

Be careful of large expenditures, either individually or collectively, which are unproductive. Forget your caste prejudices in the common effort to uplift the fortunes of India. Be free men, economically, socially and intellectually, and no power under Heaven can keep you in the position in which you are now. No permanently sound and stable development can occur unless we take pains to educate the masses of our people to a sense of their paramount importance and dignity in the social structure. I conceive it is to be the prime duty of the enlightened and well-to-do amongst us to rouse, to stimulate and to educate the backward members of the community. Let our people, as rapidly as possible, be educated in the principles of economics, and let special pains be taken for the development of an honest and intelligent class who will be content to organize and manage our industries without sapping their life by demanding exorbitant profits.

The genius for craftsmanship is among our people, as is evidenced by the ingenuity and skill of our artisan class; let the sons of Syeds, Moulvies and Alims learn to use tools in their boyhood; let every graduate who feels a call towards mechanical work, turn that pursuit in life instead of hankering after salaried posts, and I am convinced the national genius will prove and assert itself in industries and inventions as well as in literature and thought. I need not dwell before such an audience as this upon the advantages of capitalistic organisations of industries, with its economy of production and its facility of distribution. In the scientific application of capital we must learn every thing from the nations of the West. I am firmly convinced that we need to devote large sums to the founding of chairs of economics in our national colleges like Aligarh and to the training of our young men in the subtle problems of finance.

Educational needs and educational methods have gone on changing with the change of time. Once a man who could string together a few clever rhymes found favour thereby at Indian courts or with Indian noblemen. Persian and Arabic penmanship was another passport to emolument, and hundreds, sometimes thousands of rupees were paid for

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superior samples of the art. When the Moguls ruled India both Hindus and Musulmans took great pains to acquire an elegant Persian style and some even went so far as to learn Turkish. Those who sought to be reckoned learned went to the centres of Arabic learning and spent years in the acquisition of theology, grammar, logics, physics and metaphysics of our schools. Now, however, a complete change has come over the spirit of the dream. The art of the rhymster and the caligraphist has ceased to be remunerative. The physics of Aristotle and Avicenna is antiquated, the Al-Magest of Tusi is useless, the Algebra of Khyam has lost its value, the Chemistry of Jabir is mere jugglery. The metaphysics of Averroes has ceased to be studied and the Platonism of Farabi is of little account. If any scholar harks back to these studies he does so out of mere learned curiosity or with reference to the study of the evolution of human thought. The truth of the matter is, that we the Musulmans of this province, in particular, have been asleep for centuries while time has been making increasing progress. We have been stationary while the earth has been moving beneath our feet. The seed of decay and degeneration was sown the day we made up our minds to rest, as it were, on our oars. Content with our achievements in the past, ceased to thirst for fresh knowledge or engage in fresh research. It seems, however, that, rather late in the day, the Musulmans of this province have commenced to realize what is wrong with them, and the meeting here to-day may be accepted as a living sign or symbol of this awakening. They have begun to see that it is perhaps a good thing for them not only to revive their own old learning and all the virtues, but even to largely share in the progress which their co-religionists of advanced provinces have been making during their long slumber. The position of the Musulmans of the Central Provinces and the Berars in the public service and in the local bodies such as Municipal and District Boards is most humiliating. It is time for them to shake off their lethargic mood, to smooth all artificial angularities and to elevate themselves. They must appraise action more than talk and ever be ready to translate their words into deeds.

I cannot believe that the intellectual power of the Musulmans of this province is exhausted, nor can I believe that they are no longer capable of adding to the sum of human knowledge. If they lay hold of their work with both hands, and do it with all their might, shall they not succeed? Are they the one exception to the general law, and is failure alone engraved on the tablets of their destiny? Are they of all people in the world foredoomed to strive in vain? I do not believe it. I believe in the efficacy of earnest single-hearted endeavour and I believe in the efficacy of endeavour without reference to fruition. Only courage, capacity and manhood are wanted to carry on the struggle and provided they bring these with them they never need despair.

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We, the Musalmans, have an intense and justifiable pride in the contribution of our sages of bygone days to the philosophic, the literary, and the artistic wealth of the world. It should be our chief pride, our supreme duty, our highest glory to regain the virtues and the intellectual supremacy of our ancient days.

I should have also liked to say something on the separation of Judicial and Executive functions, *wakf*, *wakf alal aulad*, primary education, the Mohamedan University, but I feel I cannot detain you much longer.

I cannot conclude without offering our most sincere and grateful thanks to our illustrious and distinguished leader His Highness the Aga Khan, G.C.I.E. Towards your Highness our hearts are too full of gratitude to enable us to give vent to our sentiments. Your Highness has infused a new life into the people and guided their energies into useful and patriotic channels. Firm in conviction and patient in action, your Highness has held aloft the banner of Muslim progress, amidst thickening clouds and overwhelming storm. We are justly proud of your Highness' highest statesmanship and pray to the Most High that many more years of healthy, vigorous and happy life be vouchsafed to you, so as to enable your Highness to continue the noble work of our national regeneration.

I shall be guilty of a dereliction of duty if I omitted to proclaim what I believe is at this moment uppermost in the minds of the Musalmans of the Central Provinces and Berar. The Musalmans of the whole Province are deeply grateful to Moulvi Mahomed Aziz Mirza, Honorary Secretary, All-Indian Muslim League, for organizing a Provincial Muslim League in this Province. His profound knowledge of English and of our classics, his mature views, his enlightened patriotism, his character being a compromise between the old and the new, mark him out as a leader supremely capable of guiding the destiny of the Central League. His talk on Muslim politics, written both in English and Urdu, proves to what an extent he has grasped the political situation of the country.

We are still more grateful to him for lending the services of his very able and trustworthy assistant, Mr. Mahomed Yusuf Khan, who by working under the immediate guidance and instructions of Moulvi Aziz Mirza and by his own tact and experience born of his long connection with the Muslim League and political movements, succeeded in establishing District Muslim Leagues in all the twenty-two Districts of the Central Provinces and Berar. He proceeded from centre to centre, interviewed the leading men in the districts, ventilated the grievances, called meetings, popularized the views of the Muslim League and left not a single district as an exception. Through his efforts this Province has a complete organisation. During his stay of five months in this province he wrote many articles concerning the condition of the Musalmans and suggested many ways for ameliorating their fallen condition.

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In recognition of his valuable services the members of the District Leagues presented him as a memento, a complete silver tea-set, and a gold ring. On behalf of the members of the Provincial and District Muslim Leagues I take this opportunity to tender their sincere thanks to Moulvi Sahib and Mr. Mohamad Yusuf Khan once more.

Under the constitution, the power of electing the President of the Sessions of the League is, you know, vested in the Council of the Central League which has unanimously elected Mr. Syed Nabiullah, Bar-at-Law, as President of the Nagpur Sessions. His high literary and legal attainments and connection with a patriotic family, and independence of character are all well-known to you. I need hardly remind you that his efficiency as President depends more upon your unstinted and cordial support than upon his attainments and virtues.

It remains for me now only to thank you once more for the honour which is conferred upon me. Believe me, I am not using merely an idle phrase when I say that I am proud, very proud, of the distinction. I am proud also of my good fortune in being privileged to welcome you to Nagpur. This year will be a memorable year in the history of the Province.

The members of the Reception Committee and my humble self most cordially thank you, our esteemed guests, for the trouble and inconvenience which you have had to undergo.

Nawab Ghulam Ahmad Khan of Madras then rose to propose the election of Mr. Syed Nabiullah as President of the Sessions.

He said :—

YOUR HIGHNESS AND GENTLEMEN,—The privilege has been assigned to me of proposing for your acceptance, a President for this the fourth Annual Sessions of the All-India Muslim League.

The Council of the League has nominated a gentleman to this honour, who has not only received from a long line of distinguished ancestors the accumulative heritage of Eastern culture, but has acquired from a European University the distinction of being a scholar and a gentleman. Indeed, as in the case of the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Imam, the able President of the Amritsar Sessions, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ameer Ali, our reverend leader in England, and as in the case of His Highness the Aga Khan, the fountain-head of all our inspiration and activity, it may be said that the East and the West have blended in Mr. Syed Nabiullah to the best advantage.

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In his learned profession, there are but few in our community, who are his seniors ; whilst in point of national service, he has had the unique good fortune, from the very beginning of his life, of being under associations which are quite ample to secure the confidence of the community. Though born amidst conservative traditions Mr. Syed Nabiullah had 'the inestimable privilege of being one of the first students of the Aligarh College, where he received his training at the hands of no less a person than Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, and had opportunities of being profoundly influenced by his aims and ideals. To this perhaps should be traced the enthusiasm and interest with which he threw himself in our educational and political activities. In the Urdu-Nagari agitation and in the conception of the All-India Muslim League Mr. Nabiullah, as is well known, bore a leading part and since its formation, has worked on its behalf actively though silently. Your Highness and gentlemen, you will agree with me that it is but right and proper that a gentleman of Mr. Nabiullah's attainments should be given the honour that is his due. I have great pleasure in proposing him for the presidentship of this Sessions."

Mr. Asghar Husain, Bar-at-law, of the Central Provinces, seconded the motion in a few well-chosen words saying that no better and more estimable man could have been found to guide the deliberations of the League than the gentleman proposed for the honour.

Mr. Syed Nabiullah then took the chair amidst deafening shouts of cheers and opened the fourth Sessions of the Muslim League with a brilliant and statesmanlike address. He said :—

YOUR HIGHNESS AND GENTLEMEN,—I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the great honour you have conferred upon me by electing me as your President, and for the warmth and cordiality of your splendid reception of my humble self. When my name was, unexpectedly, first proposed for the high office a few weeks ago by some gentlemen, I tried my best to dissuade them ; because, keenly alive to my own deficiencies, I felt that some one far more capable than I can pretend to be, should be chosen to guide our deliberations in the initial stages of our political awakening and increasing activity. But the Council of the Muslim League would not hear of any arguments, excuses, objections or entreaties ; and so it has come to pass that I am here to-day in obedience to its nomination, which you have now been pleased formally to confirm by your choice. It is indeed a transcendent honour, to be called by the united voice of the representatives of a great nation to preside over their deliberations. I beg to express the hope that in this onerous and

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responsible office I shall be favoured with your kind indulgence and support.

And now let us inwardly address a short, humble prayer to the Almighty God to banish all thoughts of self from our hearts: to endow us with grace, wisdom and moderation; to guide us to the right path which leads to the greatest good; and to bless our labours.

DEATH OF KING EDWARD VII.

Before proceeding further, it is our melancholy duty to express our profound grief at the demise of King-Emperor Edward VII, who, since we last met, suddenly and quite unexpectedly passed away after a brief illness. His death was so sudden that it produced something like consternation throughout the Empire, especially in view of the unsatisfactory state of European politics, the ambitious designs of Germany, and the long-threatened constitutional struggle between the House of Lords and the House of Commons which had just come to a head; while it evoked an outburst of genuine sorrow throughout the civilised world, in which, owing to his conspicuously beneficent personality, he had come to be regarded as a sort of international institution. By his unique tact, foresight, judgment, skill in managing men and considerate regard for the interests of others he had won notable, though unofficial, triumphs on the stricken fields of European diplomacy, where he was an easy first; while his pacific tendencies and the friendly agreements and conventions with the various Powers which he inspired and helped to promote, contributed in no small degree to the maintenance of peace throughout the world. As the son of our beloved Queen-Empress Victoria, his dear memory will always be cherished in India—as the gracious Sovereign during whose all too brief reign a beneficent scheme of constitutional Reforms was initiated and promulgated.

KING GEORGE V.

We are very happy to think that the generous policy towards India first initiated by Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, and publicly announced to the Princes and People of India by her famous Proclamation of November 1858, and confirmed and acted on by her son, King-Emperor Edward VII, is to be continued by her grandson, our Sovereign Lord, George V. We all have a vivid recollection of His Majesty's famous speech at the Guildhall after his return from India five years ago in which he expressed the opinion that a little more sympathy should be infused into the administration of this country by England,—thus puting his finger, with the unerring instinct of a born statesman, on the weak spot of British Indian administration. Within the last few weeks we have heard with feelings of the liveliest delight, that His Imperial Majesty hopes to be able to come out to India with His Consort in about a year's time, to hold a Coronation Durbar at the imperial city of Delhi.

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This happy and unique event would indeed be a red-letter day in the annals of British connexion with India; and would go a long way in strengthening and cementing the bonds which unite this country to His Majesty's Throne and Person. We may be permitted to indulge the hope that His Imperial Majesty may be pleased to signalise his visit by some momentous mark of Imperial favour that shall vividly impress the imagination of the teeming, toiling millions of India with the beneficence of British rule; and enshrine his illustrious memory in the grateful recollections of a devoted people; and evoke and keep alive such an enthusiastic outburst of heartfelt and abiding loyalty as to extinguish for ever all prospective manifestations of sedition and disloyalty; while we on our part, in order to commemorate His Imperial Majesty's Coronation on Indian soil, should initiate and carry through some beneficent project of far-reaching public utility. In the meantime, we all sincerely wish His Majesty and His gracious Consort a long, prosperous and glorious reign, attended with all happiness in the world.

LORD MINTO.

Now that Lord Minto has laid down the reins of office after five years of most arduous and trying work, we desire to pay him our tribute of warm admiration and gratitude for all that he has done for our country and community. You are all aware that he did not succeed to a bed of roses and that very soon after assuming office he found himself confronted with stupendous difficulties of unexampled complexity. You all know with what unflinching courage, patience, judgment and imperturable temper he faced the situation. Owing to circumstances over which he had no control, His Excellency was obliged to curtail dearly cherished popular rights, to wit, the liberty of the Press, the right of free speech, of combination, of public trial and the right of public meeting; but the sober sense of all right-thinking men, recognizing the urgency and danger of the situation, was scarcely, if at all, offended: and the country remained practically unmoved. Had any inferior man attempted to undertake or enact a quarter of the reactionary and harsh measures which Lord Minto had the misfortune—under the stress of stern necessity—to adopt, the country would probably have been stirred to its depths, and, perhaps, set in a blaze. The moral of it is, of course, that it is not an evil thing by itself which so much offends as the *manner* of doing it. Lord Minto's genial urbanity and charm of manner, his soldierly straight forwardness and transparent honesty and sincerity of purpose were important factors in the successful governance of an Eastern people.

THE REFORMS SCHEME.

Whatever the genesis of the recent Reforms scheme—whether it was inspired from England by Lord Morely (as assumed by the London *Times*), or first suggested by Lord Minto himself, as he has repeatedly

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emphasised—there can be no doubt that on looking round him soon after his arrival in the country, Lord Minto found the prevailing Indian atmosphere to be surcharged with electricity; and, reading aright the signs of the times, he set about devising suitable means to meet the situation, which in the meantime had grown from bad to worse. But nothing daunted and undeterred by bombs, assassinations, conspiracies and outrages (which would have given pause to a less strong man), Lord Minto, while combating and repressing sedition and violent crime with a strong hand, did not deviate a hair's breadth from his appointed goal, and pursued the even tenor of his way—and we know the result. The Reforms have introduced salutary constitutional changes in the administration of India, and by giving the representatives—both elected and nominated—of important interests, and especially of influential minorities, an effective voice in the administration of the country, have powerfully contributed to the appeasement of legitimate aspirations, engendered and fostered by English education; and, coupled with the appointment of Indian members to the Imperial and Provincial Executive Councils, and increased facilities for debate, have gone a long way towards redeeming the pledges of Her late Majesty Queen-Empress Victoria contained in her gracious Proclamation of 1858, which has been rightly described as the great charter of our rights and privileges.

MUSLIM GRATITUDE.

Lord Minto's generous, statesmanlike and sympathetic attitude towards the great Mohamedan community probably averted a crisis; for signs were not wanting to show that the young bloods of the community were growing restive and straining at the leash; and had they succeeded in getting out of hand it would have brought great discredit upon the Mohamedans. We, Mohamedans, have, therefore, special reason to be extremely grateful to him for his practical recognition of our hardships and claims, and for his well-meant efforts to afford us equal opportunities with others, and to equalise conditions as far as in him lay, and to make life more tolerable to us Mohamedans. No pro-Consul since the stirring days of Lord Ripon of imperishable memory, has deserved better of this country and of its people than Lord Minto; and it is extremely gratifying and refreshing to think that his honoured name excites equal enthusiasm among all classes of His Majesty's subjects in India.

LORD MORLEY.

Lord Minto's chief, Lord Morley, has also recently resigned office after five years of most anxious and strenuous work. His strength of character, clearness and breadth of vision, disciplined intellect, wide knowledge and grasp of principles, combined with human sympathy, enabled him successfully to grapple with a crisis, at once dangerous and

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imminent, and to tide over a time of storm and stress. Being face to face with a serious situation of unusual obscurity and unknown dimensions, Lord Morley assiduously set himself to the task of gathering information at first hand ; and in order to understand the elements and bearings of the various problems arising out of the situation with which he had to deal, he had the wisdom to appoint two Indians to his Council and to interview and question all sorts of men with Indian experience, in every grade of life, mostly non-officials, whom he could get hold of. For this he has been criticised in some quarters. But there can be little doubt that had Lord Morley relied chiefly on official sources of information, and looked at Indian affairs through official glasses only, we should in all probability have been landed in a terrible mess, if not actual disaster. Men who silently control large masses of public opinion in this country seldom approach officials, because they are seldom welcome. Such men, I may add, are not to be found as a rule in the ranks of title-hunters or prosperous landlords.

LORD HARDINGE.

On your behalf I beg respectfully to welcome His Excellency Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, the august representative of our Gracious Sovereign, who has quietly and without any fuss assumed his high and honourable office within the last few weeks, and to offer our united homage to him. He does not come to us with a flourish of trumpets, pompously announcing his intentions and breathlessly anxious to prescribe the pill of "efficiency" for every Indian pailment. If "efficiency" does not aim primarily at securing, as far as possible, the ultimate happiness and contentment of the people, we do not want it. His nomination for the exalted office of Viceroy was hailed with a chorus of approbation from all sides, and as far as I am aware, not a single discordant note was struck. This is a most happy augury for the success of his rule, and for the welfare and continued progress of our country, just emerging from the throes of a violent convulsion. We have heard with immense satisfaction, from his own lips, that he is going to follow and consolidate the wise and liberal policy inaugurated by Lord Minto and Lord Morley. His Excellency, as you are aware, was the trusted companion of our late King-Emperor on his European tours, and is a trained diplomat of first-rate ability and a proficient scholar of Persian, Turkish and Russian.

SOME INDIAN PROBLEMS.

To maintain order and to uphold the law to watch over the developments of what has been happily styled as "loyal unrest," and to divert it into channels not antagonistic to British rule ; to enlarge the functions and responsibilities of local self-government, with special reference to adequate Mohamedan representation on Municipal and District Boards, and to liberate it, as far as possible, from the trammels of official

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dictation and unnecessary interference; to inaugurate and extend a well-considered scheme of technical, agricultural, scientific, commercial and primary education; to extend and foster indigenous industries; to develop the agricultural and economic resources of the country; to see whether the time has not arrived to extend, in the interests of agricultural improvements and consequent prosperity, the duration of the periodical settlements of land-revenue; to devise suitable measures to lighten the heavy load of agricultural indebtedness which is crushing the life out of the vast bulk of our population; to consider the advisability of spending more money upon the extension of irrigation; to examine into the expediency and feasibility of establishing a system of short service for the native Indian army; to retrench public expenditure without sacrificing efficiency—are some of the questions which may well engage Lord Hardinge's attention during his term of office. In the meantime, we sincerely hope and pray that no internal disorder or foreign complication may cast its shadow on His Excellency's *regime*. I may as well venture to say, on your behalf, that he can always count on our loyal support and co-operation in all measures calculated to advance the material, moral and intellectual well-being of the country.

REASONS FOR MOHAMEDANS' ABSTENTION FROM POLITICS.

We have often been reproached for keeping aloof from politics till so late in the day as the latter end of 1906. Even if to-day we are politicians it is not so much from choice, I am afraid, as by force of circumstances. I myself think, however, that this long abstention from the active pursuit of politics has debarred us, if from nothing else, at least from the advantages of political training and education so much needed in the changed conditions of the India of to-day. Various causes have contributed to prevent us from joining hands with the Hindus in their political activities, or starting political business on our own account; as for instance, the great influence of our late revered leader, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, of blessed memory, who enjoined us to avoid, as far as possible, the thorny paths of politics; a disinclination on our part, to embarrass the Government by engaging in political agitation; an instinctive feeling that owing to our widespread deficiency in English education and capacity, we, as a community, should have to play second fiddle in the game of politics; a haunting fear that by descending into the dusty arena of politics and helping to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for others: we should be at once insidiously undermining the authority of Government and unduly promoting the political ascendency—already overpowering—of the great Hindu community; the conviction that the unimpaired supremacy of the British Government is conducive to the welfare, continued progress, peace of mind, happiness of the Mohamedans; the dearth of influential leaders of commanding ability, endowed with the indispensable gift of eloquence, as well as with imagination, energy

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and enthusiasm; a certain lofty disdain—born of the spiritual teachings of Islam, of fatalism, and the grand traditions of our glorious past, mingled, perhaps, with a fleeting sense of despair that we have been irretrievably outstripped in the race of life—to enter the lists in competition with men, over whom we once held sway, for the temporal prizes that the fickle goddess of politics has to offer to her votaries; and last, not least (be it confessed to our shame), our invincible apathy and listlessness, an aversion to work and to take trouble, and reluctance to sacrifice our ease and comfort.

THE FERMENT IN THE EAST.

But since Sir Syed's advice to us to leave alone politics much water has passed under the bridges, and the slumbering East has been violently stirred by momentous events of deep significance. Japan's political revolution and adoption of western representative institutions and her marvellous progress in all branches of national life within the last twenty years or so, followed by her astounding victories over Russia, whose imposing power in the Far East was crumpled up like matchwood: set all Eastern nations athinking, and gave a tremendous fillip to the demand for representative institutions in countries so widely different in their polities as India, China, Egypt, Persia and Turkey. In our own country many other influences have been silently at work, notably, the elevating effects of Western culture; but the quickening impulse, I believe, came from Japan's overthrow of a great Western Power, which was thought by the world at large to be absolutely invincible. A galvanic shock of unrest went through the entire East.

INDIAN UNREST AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE.

Therefore, the wave of unrest which first swept over Bengal after its partition and then, with diminishing force, over the rest of India, followed by the ebullitions of frenzy which broke out in different parts of the country: opened men's eyes to the significant signs of the times, to the serious gravity of the situation, and the militant forces at work. It is not necessary to describe in detail the startling events which followed each other in bewildering succession. Suffice it to say that by great good fortune we had at this critical juncture a soldier-statesman at the head of affairs in this country, and a philosopher-statesman at the helm in England, between whom there was perfect unanimity of sentiment, and who correctly dia gnised the situation. When it became apparent that an enlargement of the Legislative Councils and of their functions, together with other constitutional organic changes, was contemplated by Government, it was felt by some of the leading men in our community that the time had arrived for the Mohamedans to come out into the open, and to claim what was rightfully their due in view of their importance and historical traditions; and that they could no longer afford to sulk in their tents, waiting on Providence with folded hands and brooding over

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their departed greatness—unless they wanted to be left out in the cold. This, in brief, led to the formation of the All-India Muslim League in the closing days of 1906; though before that there had been several spasmodic attempts at forming a political association for the Mohamedans, to safeguard their interests. We have now, for better or worse, taken the plunge; and whether we swim, float, or sink: it all depends upon ourselves. I can only express the hope that the new-born enthusiasm of my co-religionists will not evaporate, as of yore, with the lapse of time and that our young men will devote themselves more and more to the study of financial, industrial and economic questions rather than to politics, pure and simple.

THE OBJECTS OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE.

Besides looking after the interests of our fellow-religionists and promoting loyal feelings towards the British Government, one of the chief objects of our League is to cultivate harmonious relations with other Indian communities, especially with the great sister community of the Hindus. As far as I am aware no responsible Mohamedan leader has ever entertained any but the most friendly feelings towards the Hindus, especially towards the progressive, enterprising, partriotic, intellectual Bengalis—the despair of Aberigh-Mackay, of Steevens, and, aye, of unimaginative Anglo-India. I sometimes think in my dreams that if our rulers could only understand the Bengalis, they would be able to understand not only most of the Asiatic races, but the Irish, the Americans and the Junkers of Germany as well! In spite of recent lamentable incidents, and the infatuation and aberration of certain misguided sections of the population, I believe that the vast majority of the Bengalis are sound at heart and loyal to the core. Like the Mohamedans (though for different reasons) they have everything to lose and nothing to gain, if the English retire from India. And yet the Bengali is often obstreperous, and now and again truculent! What is the reason?

SIR SYED AHMED KHAN QUOTED.

Our greatest leader, the late lamented Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, in speaking of the Hindus and Mohamedans, of the Bengalis, and of the "Indian nation" has been making the following observations, with which, I need scarcely say we are in cordial agreement:—

"Mohamedans and Hindus are the two *eyes* of India. Injure the one and you injure the other. We should try to become one in heart and soul and act in unison; if united, we can support each other, if not, the effect of one against the other will tend to the destruction and downfall of both."

"I assure you that the Bengalis are the only people in our country whom we can properly be proud of; and it is only due to them that knowledge, liberty and patriotism have progressed in our country. I

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can *truly* say that they are really the head and crown of all the communities of Hindustan."

"In the word 'nation' I include both Hindus and Mohamedans, because that is the *only* meaning which I can attach to it."

H. H. THE AGA KHAN QUOTED.

Again, His Highness the Aga Khan, our highly honoured leader and President, in the course of his inaugural address at the last Sessions of our League, was very emphatic, in view of the larger interests of our common Motherland, on the necessity—the supreme necessity—of a cordial understanding between the two great communities of India. Let me make some quotations from his most admirable and statesmanlike speech:—

"Now that we have secured it *(i.e.,* a separate electorate) I hope it will result in a *permanent* political sympathy and a genuine *entente cordiale* between the members of the two great sister communities."

"Our first and foremost duty is to prove our active loyalty towards our Sovereign....by our endeavours to strengthen the foundation of British rule in India....by *uniting* the great sister communities through the bonds of sympathy, affection, and a community of interests."

"In the first place, they (*i.e.,* the Moslems) must co-operate, as representative *Indian* citizens, with other Indians in advancing the well-being of the country...."

"I have no hesitation in asserting that unless Hindus and Mohamedans co-operate with each other in the general development of the country as a whole, and in all matters affecting their mutual interests, *neither* will develop to the full its legitimate aspirations, or give full scope to its possibilities. In order to develop their common economic and other interests, both should remember that one is the elder sister of the other, and that India is their *common parent*; religious differences should be naturally reduced to the minor position. . . ."

"Our loyalty to the Throne must be absolute, and our relations with the Hindus and all other Indian communities who share that loyalty must frankly be most cordial. Otherwise our political activities will tend to the undoing of *both*, and ultimately prove detrimental even to the British Power. The true interests of the Empire can *never* lie in a policy of 'divide and rule'....."

THE RT. HON'BLE SYED AMEER ALI QUOTED.

Our other great leader, the Rt. Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali, in the encouraging message, replete with sage observations, he was pleased to send us at our last Sessions, is equally emphatic :—

"....I sincerely trust that the two great communities whom the Reforms mainly affect will decide to work together in harmony and

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concord for the good of their *common* country. *They have both to live together, to progress together and in evil days to suffer together.....National* development, even the fulfilment of the dream of self-government, depends on the co-operation of both races in a spirit of *amity* and *concord.*"

(All the italics in the above quotations are mine.)

HINDU AND MOHAMEDAN RELATIONS.

It will thus be seen that the best sense of our community is agreed on the point that, in the vital interests of our country, in other words, of the Government—because I am firmly persuaded that the best interests of the Government are, in the long run, indissolubly bound up, with the best interests of the country—Hindus and Mohamedans should live at peace and cultivate the most friendly relations with one another; and be prepared for that mutual compromise, the give-and-take, which is the essence of our modern existence and the secret of its success. But I very much regret to say that the good feeling and happy relations which formerly subsisted between the two communities have been, in some parts of the country, considerably attenuated in recent years; and a strain has been put on their friendly intercourse on the old footing. As we all desire to bring about a *rapprochement* between the two communities, I shall be perfectly frank with my Hindu brethren. I am grieved to say that certain events and incidents have happened within recent years which have given offence to the Mohamedans, and caused many searchings of heart among them. At present I will deal with only one such event, namely, the "worship" of Sivaji. Let it be granted that the world judges men like Sivaji, Robin Hood, Clive, Dalhousie, Napoleon, Bismarck, etc., not by the usual standard of morality applicable to ordinary mortals. But what is the inner meaning of these Sivaji celebrations? Do not they convey a serious warning to all concerned? Do not they suggest the revolt of Hinduism against Islam and, by implication, against foreign domination? The apotheosis of Sivaji gives us a foretaste, as it were, of what the poor Mohamedans have to expect under Hindu hegemony. If, then, our feelings are irritated, is it to be wondered at? I am, however, glad to note that since a certain firebrand has been removed from the scene of his labours, the cult of Sivaji appears to be dying out.

THE QUESTION OF SEPARATE ELECTORATES.

These suggestively aggressive celebrations, however, to which I have just referred, went a long way in steeling our hearts against yielding on the question of separate electorates for Mohamedans which is another painful subject to which I want to refer just for a moment. But even apart from the sinister significance of the deification of Sivaji, Mohamedans would at all events have insisted on a separate electorate

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for themselves, to ensure their fair representation on the Legislative Councils. Their dominant feeling, I believe, was that if the Hindus chose to sink their differences, and to close up their ranks, they could, with their formidable majority, defeat every Mohamedan candidate in the field. Even if by chance or good fortune Mohamedans were returned by what are called "mixed" electorates, it would be at the sacrifice of their independence and freedom of action and judgment. The thought was galling to us that we should be for ever tied to the chariot wheels of Sivaji-"worshippers" and dragged at their heels, always dependent on their goodwill and favour. The prospect of this novel thraldom alarmed us; and we naturally desired emancipation from it. We felt that considering the present backward condition of our community and our former predominant position in the country we should be adequately represented on the Legislative Councils—if for nothing else, at least for the benefit of the training and experience they were likely to afford us. Well, the scheme of separate electorates has happily put us in a position effectively to look after our interests; has saved our countenance; preserved our *amour propre*; averted the danger of increasing bitterness and estrangement of feelings between the two communities, which would have inevitably resulted from the freaks and hap-hazard chances of "mixed" elections; and, above all, put us in the proper frame of mind to co-operate cordially with our Hindu brethern for the advancement and glory of our common country. I venture to think that if any educated man of strong common-sense, any experienced man with the faculty of correct applied imagination, were to reflect for a moment, he would be convinced that if mixed electorates alone had the exclusive power of returning members, the consequences would have been disastrous to the best interests of the country. How? By causing an ever-widening breach between the two communities, and a permanent and incurable alienation of feelings. Need I point to our recent election experiences? Is it not a fact that in very many instances secret ill-will has been created between Hindu and Hindu, and, for the matter of that, between Mohamedan and Mohamedan? Let us take count of human nature as we find it. Our Hindu friends by their vehement opposition to separate electorates, I am afraid, have unwittingly narrowly escaped from putting the knife to the throat of our poor, dear Motherland for which they profess, in all sincerity, so much solicitude. The cry of "unity" being in danger is a spurious cry. We don't want a "paper unity," but a genuine union of hearts in the interests of our common country. Let us, therefore, hear no more of the foolish twaddle about the Mohamedans erecting an iron wall of disunion between the Hindus and Mohamedans. And are our Hindu friends not satisfied? Have not they a permanent, standing majority? What more do they want? Why do they grudge us separate, adequate representation? Being secure in their overwhelming majority, it looks as if under the plausible plea of unity they want to lord it over

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us, to have it all their own way, and to stifle our feeble voice. Is it fair ? Can it conduce to peace? Yes, peace, which is our greatest interest. I appeal to the good sense and patriotism of the Hindu leaders, and I have no misgivings as to what their response would be. I honestly and sincerely believe that adequate and independent Mohamedan representation on our Legislative Councils and Municipal, Local and District Boards is absolutely necessary in the present condition of India and of Muslim public feeling,—for peace sake, for the uninterrupted progress of our dear country, and in the sacred interests of good-fellowship, if for nothing else.

FREQUENT CONFERENCES BETWEEN HINDUS AND MOHAMEDANS.

Barring the question of employment in the public services of the State, and the Urdu-Hindi question, there is hardly any question of public importance, as far as I can see, on which the Mohamedans are not in substantial agreement with their Hindu brethren. That being so, I venture to suggest that Hindu and Mohamedan leaders, and especially our Hindu and Mohamedan legislators, should from time to time meet each other in formal conferences, for the purpose of exchanging notes and holding friendly discussions on all questions affecting the general well-being of the country. In this way they can be of very great assistance to each other, and also to Government; and can render great service to their country, by removing misunderstandings, composing differences, and by promoting and diffusing an atmosphere of mutual forbearance, tolerance and goodwill. Altogether, I venture to anticipate the happiest results if this course is followed.

PROPOSED CONFERENCE OF LEADERS WELCOMED.

In this connexion, I heartily welcome Sir William Wedderburn's wise proposal, cordially endorsed by our leaders (His Highness the Aga Khan and the Rt. Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali), to hold a friendly conference, in the course of the next few days, of some of the influential leaders of all communities. I sincerely hope that a satisfactory settlement of all outstanding differences will be reached at the proposed Conference, and a *modus vivendi* arranged for future co-operation. The most serious feature of the situation, however, is that there appears to be a tendency in some quarters to accentuate these differences. All I can say is—as you must all feel—that so long as these differences remain, our country's cause, which is already suffering, may be irretrievably damaged and all progress arrested. But I have every confidence that the leaders on both sides with a single eye to the country's good, will rise superior to every petty consideration.

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THE ATTITUDE OF GOVERNMENT TOWARDS HINDUS AND MOHAMEDANS.

It is sometimes hinted in some quarters that the Government in its heart of hearts does not desire that the Hindus and Mohamedans should ever come together; that it is always trying, though with extreme caution and cunningness, to play off one community against the other; and that, finally, it is to the advantage of Government that the two communities should always be at loggerheads. Of course all this is utter nonsense. I do not, however, know whether I am perpetrating a "blazing indiscretion" in referring to such fanciful matters. But it is no use disguising the fact that such matters are being discussed daily in almost every important city and town of India. Though I yield to no one—not even to Lord Curzon—in my admiration of the splendid Civil Service of India, I am, however, bound to confess that the conduct of some of its members, here and there, has sometimes lent some colour to such baseless conjectures and insinuations as those just alluded to. As soon as a new Collector or Deputy Commissioner arrives in a district people are keen to find out whether he is a pro-native, pro-Hindu or pro-Mohamedan. Any public servant who does not hold the scales even, who is swayed by personal predilections, or who is openly unsympathetic, is a traitor to his country. I do not think, however, that any mother's son outside of Bedlam believes for a moment that Government wants to sow discord between the two great communities of India. But if this sordid game were ever tried, it would—while gratuitously increasing a hundredfold the anxieties, cares and difficulties of Government—inevitably end in disaster. The true interests of the people and of the Government lie in the peaceful and ordered development of the country, which can only be secured by mutual co-operation between the officers of the Government and the leaders of the people, without distinction of race or creed. That is the secret of successful rule in this country.

THE QUESTIONS OF STATE SERVICE AND UPLIFTING THE MASSES.

The question of employment in the public service to which I have just referred has, unfortunately, very often formed a bone of contention between the Hindus and the Mohamedans. This subject, which affects only the educated classes, who form but an infinitesimal part of the population, has from time to time excited keen interest in our community. We ought not, I think, to forego our right to claim a fair share of the loaves and fishes of State; besides, it is a great advantage to be trained in our public offices, and, especially, to be associated with the practical work of administration, particularly in the higher branches of State service. But I beg to ask you, if, say, all the Judgeships and Commissionerships in the country were filled exclusively by Mohamedans: in what way

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would that help to uplift the great mass of our people? We ought not, in our selfish interest, to think only of ourselves; but we ought rather to think more and more of the lower orders of our people, how to ameliorate their lot, and to raise their standard of comfort. This can only be done by reforming our social customs, by helping to extend primary and technical education, by developing trade and agriculture, our native industries and the economic resources of our country. How to do these things are precisely the questions which ought to engage the earnest thought, attention and study of our educated young men and of their elders. Here is a profitable field of employment for those who have plenty of leisure on their hands, and do not stand in need of service. The first thing to do is to read up the whole literature available on the subject you are studying, and then to form your own opinion.

DEVELOPING AGRICULTURE.

Our greatest industry is agriculture, in which about 80 per cent. of our population is engaged: and on its prosperity depends the prosperity of the whole country. If our crops are good: trade expands, the railway receipts mount up, the consumption of salt goes up, stamps and excise receipts increase; in fact, the effects are immediately reflected in every branch of the revenue. But the conditions under which land is held in this country do not favour its development. In the first place, the State revenue demand on land varies from Province to Province; and in some Provinces is excessive, to say the least; as for instance, in the Central Provinces in the capital of which we are assembled to-day. From the accumulated experience of ages it has been found that from one-fifth to one-sixth of the total gross produce of land is a fair rent in India, which enables our poor, afflicted peasantry—who are, perhaps, the most frugal and thrifty, and withal (except in Bengal), the most wretched in the world—to lay by something in fat years to serve them as a stand-by against rainy days; for, owing to the vagaries of rainfall, no industry is more subject to the vicissitudes of fortune than agriculture. You are very probably aware that between fifty and sixty millions of our countrymen, Hindus and Mohamedans—about the total strength of "Islam" in India—continually hover on the border-line which divides destitution from starvation. The unutterable pathos, gloom, and tragedy of their lives, their ceaseless toil and struggle for bare existence, can only be realised by those who have come into personal contact with them. Is there no remedy for this state of things?

PERIODICAL SETTLEMENTS OF LAND-REVENUE.

Another potent factor which hampers the development of land is the periodical settlements of land-revenue in most of the Provinces of India after every 15, 20 or 30 years. Landlords, peasant-proprietors, farmers and tenants are all unwilling, in view of the short duration of settlements, to lay out sufficient capital on improvements for fear of increased

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assessments at the next periodic revision of revenue. If the period of settlements were extended to 60 years (the normal span of human life in India) in all major Provinces, subject to a minimum term of 40 years in less economically developed tracts (where an extension of irrigational facilities or the occupation of waste lands may reasonably be expected), a great impetus would be imparted to the rapid development of land. Any temporary loss of revenue would be more than recouped by the tide of prosperity which would flow from the productive development of the resources of land, and which would, in numerous indirect ways, amply replenish the Exchequer.

CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETIES.

Another incubus which weighs down agriculture is the heavy load of indebtedness which hangs like a millstone round the necks of our cultivating classes. Great credit is due to the Government for organizing Co-operative Credit Societies, for the supply of capital to cultivators on easy terms for productive purposes, and to encourage habits of thrift. Judging from the results already achieved, the co-operative credit movement under the fostering care of Government has, I believe, taken permanent root in the country; and the organization and multiplication of Credit Societies and of the Central Banks which finance them, opens up a vista of bright future for our sorely troubled cultivators enabling them to depend more and more on co-operative effort to better their lot, and to depend less and less on the wily money-lender. Here is a field of activity in which Hindus and Mohamedans can patriotically co-operate with the Government for the welfare of our poor, hard-working cultivators, who stand so much in need of our practical sympathy.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

There is another important subject to which I want to draw your attention. Much of the prevalent unrest, I am afraid, is due to the unemployment of large numbers of the educated classes. How to find a profitable outlet for the energies of these men is one of the most difficult problems of the day. For almost every post in the country I believe there are more than four dozen competent candidates; in other words, the supply exceeds the demand by about fiftyfold, and with the rapid strides that education is making, the supply will go on increasing at an accelerating ratio. Only in too many cases the effect of English education on an empty stomach is to breed discontent, disaffection, fierce denunciations of Government and all its ways, anarchist conspiracies, outbreaks of savagery and violent crime. Is it not, then, time to check the breeding of a race of malcontents and disappointed place-hunters all over the country by reforming our educational policy, without detriment, however, to the interests of secondary and higher education, and at the same time widely extending technical, industrial and scientific

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education throughout India? At all events, I trust the Government will be pleased to evolve at an early date a satisfactory scheme of technical education, which in course of time, I hope, will provide useful careers for our youths, and go a long way towards checking the growing discontent in the land, which is very often the result of a purely literary education and subsequent unemployment.

CONFERMENT OF ROYAL BOONS.

I have already referred to His Majesty's projected visit to India. We may take it for granted that in celebration of the Coronation a plentiful shower of honours will descend on the country, and a large number of prisoners will be released. Speaking of honours, however, reminds me that in 1819, the then Nawab Vazeer of Oudh, Ghazi-ud-din Hyder, was induced by Lord Hastings to assume the title of "Shah." In every Province of India, I believe, there are Chiefs who are entitled to a salute of guns, except in Oudh; though I am told that some 30 years or so ago there was a nobleman in Oudh, and after his death, his widow, who were thus honoured. But neither the shower of honours nor the release of prisoners will appeal to the imagination of the masses. I believe there are hardly any greater boons than the extension of the period of settlements to 60 years (to which I have just referred), and some measure of protection for our nascent industries. If, with the consent of the Indian and Home authorities, His Gracious Majesty were to announce the confirment of these boons at the Coronation Durbar at Delhi: it would send a thril of joy and thankfulness throughout the length and breadth of India, and perpetuate his blessed memory for generations to come, and draw closer the ties which bind the Princes and people of India to His Majesty's Throne and Person. While we, on our part, Hindus and Mohamedans alike, should also do our humble duty by raising to his illustrious memory, in every Province, a first grade model Technical College,—just as we in the United Provinces have founded in his memory at Lucknow, by public subscriptions, a splendid Medical College when he came out to India five years ago as Prince of Wales.

ALIGARH COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY.

May I be permitted, further, to submit on behalf of His Imperial Majesty's Mohamedan subjects in India that, should His Majesty be graciously pleased to visit our poor College at Aligarh (in which all our hopes of future advancement are centred), no greater honour could be conferred on the entire Mohamedan community, and no greater encouragement could be extended to the cause of Mohamedan education? And should King-Emperor George V be pleased to grace our College with a visit, is it too much to expect that, in honour and memory of His Imperial Majesty's visit, His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, His Highness the Nawab of Rampur and other benevolent Mohamedan Chiefs

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will not refuse to lend us a helping hand in establishing a Mohamedan University at Aligarh, to be named after His Majesty?

REDUCTION OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.

One of the questions which may be expected to claim Lord Hardinge's attention is the growth of our military expenditure, which in the course of the last 9 or 10 years has increased, I believe, by about 8 or 9 crores. After the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Convention of September 1907, which settled many outstanding difficulties affecting the interests of the two Powers in Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet, it might have been expected that our military expenditure would be gradually reduced consistently with the safety of India; but that if this was found to be impossible, then a portion at least of our military expenditure would be borne by the British Exchequer, in consideration of the fact that we are maintaining our present forces in excess of our requirements, and therefore not solely for our own defence, but also partly for Imperial purposes. The Anglo-Russian Convention "has been observed by both parties to it," said Lord Hardinge just before he left England to assume the Governor-Generalship of India, "with the utmost loyalty, and has happily resulted in the mutual co-operation of the two Powers for the maintenance of peace in Asia. The advantage to India of this peaceful development is incalculable, since the Russian menace has been dispelled and the bogey of a Russian invasion has been laid, thus giving greater opportunity and freedom to those intrusted with administration in India to consider many social problems affecting the welfare and development of the Indian people." I am afraid, however, that the immediate prospect before us is by no means bright; because, for the progress and development of the country, for the extension of primary and technical education, we require more money than can be looked-for from the normal growth of our revenue. Where the money is to come from I know not—unless we make retrenchments in our Civil and Military expenditure, and curtail our railway grant. Lord Hardinge will have to take his courage in both hands to do these things.

ENGLAND AND FOREIGN MUSALMANS.

If I may be permitted to cast a glance at foreign affairs, I should like to say that we in India noted with deep concern and alarm that, in consequence of the recent British note to Persia on the subject of policing the trade routes in Southern Persia (in which, by the way, as far as I can judge, there was nothing incompatible with the integrity and independence of Persia), some Persians and Turks appealed to the German Emperor for some sort of intervention. It would seem, I am afraid, as if there is something amiss in latter-day British diplomacy that our foreign co-religionists should begin to look more and more to the War-Lord of Germany for assistance and advice, rather than to England, which is the greatest "Musalman" Power in the world, and

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the renowned protector and friend of nationalities struggling to be free. It would increase England's hold on the Islamic world if Turkish and Persian loans could be successfully placed on the London market, instead of in Paris or Berlin. Will our English financiers rise to the occasion ?

APPOINTMENT OF MOHAMEDANS TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

I think I have already briefly touched on some of the pressing questions of the day. It is to be regretted that no Mohamedan has been made a member of the Executive Councils of either Bombay, Madras or Bengal. I trust that on a vacancy occurring a competent Mohamedan will be appointed, and that Lord Hardinge will be pleased to take steps in due course for the establishment of Executive Councils in the United Provinces and in the Punjab.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RULERS AND THE RULED.

I am afraid I have detained you much too long. There is, however, one point on which I wish to dwell for a moment, namely, the relations between the rulers and the ruled. On the cordiality of their social relations depends to a large extent the smooth working of the machinery of Government. Whilst most Englishmen, as a rule, are first-rate gentlemen, frank, courteous, considerate, honest and upright, there are, however, some, I regret to say, who are inclined to be rude and arrogant ; and who habitually act on the pleasing theory of those heartless fishermen who hold that fish cannot feel. I want to assure these men that we, Indians, are not fish ; why, even the fish-eating Bengali is not fish, as we all know from painfully startling experience. Few Englishmen have any idea what a sore point this is with educated Indians. We, Indians, are naturally quickly and warmly responsive to courtesy and kindness ; but we deeply resent incivility and insolence. As a loyal subject of the Crown, I desire to impress upon all those Englishmen who are pleased to think that Indians are "fish" that cannot feel, that an affront offered to an educated or refined Indian is like—what shall I say ?—converting a friend into a bitter foe. And the enmity of an educated man is not to be lightly despised ; for it works incalculable harm in divers ways undreamt of by unimaginative Englishmen. The feeling that the affronted belongs to a subject race, and that for various reasons he cannot retaliate, accentuates the mischief all the more. "The eradication of insolence on one hand and feeling of inferiority and mortification on the other, between the rulers and the ruled," is, according to the Hon'ble Syed Ali Imam, "one of the many grave questions in practical politics in India that equally affect all classes of our countrymen." In the interests of peace and good-will neither the rulers nor the ruled can afford to be rude to one another. Most of evils which afflict us in this world are generally the result of ignorance. All honour, therefore, to

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those amiable, well-intentioned men who are trying to bring about a better understanding between the rulers and the ruled, by bringing them together on all possible occasions. The more they come to know of each other the better they will like each other and respect each other. But without mutual forbearance and respect no good understanding can be lasting.

CO-OPERATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND THE DUTY OF MOHAMEDAN COUNCILLORS.

In inaugurating the Reforms Scheme the Government has broken new ground; and a fresh chapter has opened in the administrative methods of this country. In calling representative Indian opinion to its aid, and giving it an effective voice in the affairs of the country, the Government has proved once more that it is both enlightened and progressive, and that it is animated by a sincere desire to rule the country in the interests of the people. A solemn duty rests upon our countrymen of all races and creeds to co-operate whole-heartedly with the Government in its endeavours to promote the common weal. On the success of the present enterprise depends, in a great measure, the further extension of what, in the language of hyperbole, may be called the "sovereignty" of the people controlled by the Government; for, if we prove ourselves worthy of the trust generously reposed in us, it is inconceivable that the Government can stand still, or refuse to associate us more and more in the governance of the country. In the fulness of time we may confidently hope for a further enlargement of popular liberties. If I might take the liberty of addressing a word or two to our Mohamedan Councillors, I would venture to say that the honour of our community in a manner rests in their hands; and every Mohamedan, therefore, sincerely hopes and trusts that by their knowledge, application, moderation and capacity for speech and clear thinking they will bring credit on the great community to which they belong, and also show themselves able to take a worthy part in the deliberations on the affairs of State.

WE MUST STAND ON OUR OWN LEGS.

We have been often taunted by unfriendly critics that on every conceivable occasions we desire to be put under a special course of treatment and to be spoon-fed. Even our best friends who appreciate our difficulties, drawbacks and disabilities, and who sincerely sympathise with our legitimate claims, hopes and aspirations, have sometimes regretfully noted a certain tendency on our part showing that we rather prefer being treated on most occasions with special favour. If there is really any tendency in this direction, it must be discouraged; for it can only end in demoralizing our community, which would be a great calamity. We must stand on our own legs and walk by ourselves;

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for, if we get accus omed to crutches we shall be crippled for life; and, above all, we must remember that competition is the breath of modern life.

AN APPEAL TO THE SONS OF ISLAM.

The Raja of Bhinga, an enlightened nobleman of Oudh, has within the last year or two given about 10 or 12 lakhs towards founding a School and Boarding House in Benares for the education of Kshatriyas, one of the noblest races of men that ever trod the earth, but, educationally, as backward as we. You might be tempted to think that the Raja Saheb Bahadur must be an immensely rich man. Not at all; for he pays Government revenue of only about a lakh and a quarter. It is interesting to recall that the Raja Saheb Bahadur of Bhinga has thoughtfully named his school after the sagacious and strenuous ruler of the United Provinces, Sir John Hewett, who, with the prescience of a statesman, has rightly perceived that the true and vital interests of the country lie in the direction of a steady extension of education—chiefly primary, female, scientific and industrial—and a progressive development of the economic resources of the country. Only a few years ago another Rajput nobleman, the late Raja Saheb Bahadur of Awa in the Etah district of the United Provinces, donated, I believe, a like sum towards establishing a similar institution at Agra. Of all the sons of Islam in India is there no one who can pluck up courage to emulate the noble example of these munificent Indian benefactors of their race? We are all very properly proud of our dear Aligarh College. But are there any voluntary and honorary workers there as they have at the Central Hindu College of Benares? Speaking of Benares reminds me of the ruling powers which have lately been granted to His Highness the Maharaja Saheb Bahadur of Benares. I desire to congratulate him on the accession of dignity which has come to him, and which, I doubt not, he has richly deserved. I feel sure that His Highness will follow the noble example of the British Government and make no distinctions between the various races and creeds of his subjects.

OUR GLORIOUS HERITAGE.

And now I have done. I am afraid I have exhausted your patience. I have a firm faith in the virility and destiny of my nation; and I am convinced that if we only know our minds and are unwavering in our loyalty to Government, we cannot fail to exercise a most wholesome influence on the conduct of public affairs. Already a bright future is unfolding itself before our eyes, in which we are destined, if we are only true to ourselves and to our country, to play an ever-increasing and prominent part. We must never forget that we are the scions of a famous race which once made history, and that India is our Motherland, the glorious heritage handed down to us by our illustrious forbears, to share with our Hindu brethren and to transmit it unimpaired to our

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posterity, marching hand in hand with our Hindu compatriots, under the guidance and protecting shield of our English rulers, along the path of moral, intellectual and material progress.

Some resolutions relating to important questions of the day will now be laid before you, which I hope you will unanimously pass after due consideration.

After the conclusion of the Presidential address the Honorary Secretary to the All-India Muslim League, presented his annual report which is given below summarising the arduous and important work done during the year. It was received with marked enthusiasm and loud applause. But as it was a bulky document it was at the request of the Secretary taken as read. The report runs as follows :—

THE year under review is the fourth of the existence of the League, called into being through the exertions of Nawab Vikar-ul-Mulk Bahadur, at an informal meeting of the leading Mussalmans of India held at Dacca in December 1906. It has given ample proof of its usefulness by championing the Muslim cause and effectively representing the community during the most trying period of the British occupation of India. It has had the good fortune of being guided in its initial stages by a statesman of the calibre of the Nawab Vikar-ul-Mulk Bahadur who has watched over its growth with almost parental concern.

When by the unanimous suffrage of his co-religionists Nawab Vikar-ul-Mulk Bahadur was elevated to the Secretaryship of the M. A.-O. College, Major S. H. Bilgrami was called to the work. But owing to certain reasons he had to go to England, where he did very useful work when the reform scheme was under discussion at the India Office. During this period Haji Mohomad Musa Khan, the Honorary Joint Secretary, held the current charge of the duties of the Honorary Secretary, which he tried to perform to the best of his abilities.

The unprecedented success which the League has achieved in a comparatively short time is in no little measure due to the unstinted efforts and munificent support of His Highness the Aga Khan who has been its President from its very inception. His Highness has taken the warmest interest in the successful working of the League. His sincere devotion to the cause of his community and his constant presence in England and his exalted position have been better able to serve our communal interests than any organisation however powerful.

At the Delhi Sessions of the League I was unanimously elected Honorary Secretary and although sore in spirit and weighed down by

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domestic calamities, I had to respond to the call of duty, as it came in clear and unmistakeable terms. At the same Session's it was decided, owing to reasons well-known to the Muslim public, that the head-quarters of the League be transferred from Aligarh to Lucknow. I took charge of my duties on the 14th February and opened the office of the League in Lucknow on the 1st March 1910.

The All-India Muslim League, as is well known, is not a body of agitators, it has set before itself certain ideals, and is making a determined effort for their realisation. The primary aim of the League was the political education of the Muslims and the safeguarding of their political rights. But the Muslim leaders, specially H. H the President and the Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, realised that the entire diversion of our efforts to the barren field of politics would be detrimental to our intellectual and material advancement. The Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali proposed the division of the work of the League into four sections :—

(*i*) Political,
(*ii*) Educational,
(*iii*) Economic,
(*iv*) Sociological.

The attention of the Provincial Leagues has been called to this division of work which is likely to play a great part in the regeneration of the community but owing to the dearth of leisured workers we have as yet been able to achieve but little. The Punjab Provincial League has, however, made a beginning in this direction and it is hoped that the other Branches will soon follow the excellent example set by that body.

I shall in the following pages give a brief summary of the activities of the League since I assumed office.

At this time the office of the League consisted of a Personal Assistant, two clerks and a Duftari. But this staff was entirely unsuited to cope with the steady increase in the work of the League. I had, therefore, to appoint an Assistant Secretary who could carry on correspondence and routine work during my frequent absence, and also help me otherwise. I also added a typist to the staff, for the copying of circular letters, etc.

The increase in the work can be gauged to a small extent from the fact that up to 30th November, 6730 letters and packets were dispatched from this office, compared with 3278 in the last year.

After the Headquarters of the League were transferred to Lucknow the right of the League to correspond direct with the Government of India was questioned, and so a strong representation clearly enunciating the Imperial character of the League was made and I am glad to say that the Government of India after full consideration acknowledged our undoubted right to correspond with it direct.

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PUBLIC SERVICE.

The subject which has most engaged the attention of the League has been the due representation of Mussalmans in the Public Service. The time is long past when Mussalmans claimed concessions on account of their backwardness in education. Thanks to the foundation of the Aligarh College and the enthusiastic efforts of Sir Syed Ahmed and his colleagues, our community too can now boast of an increasing supply of men competent to fill the most responsible posts under the Government. There was a time even under the British Government when the Mussalmans monopolised the majority of posts to which Indians could aspire in those days. But there was a deplorable change for the worse when a knowledge of English became a *sine qua non* for employment under Government. They were under the false impression that western culture would undermine their religious beliefs, and held aloof while other communities which had no such prejudices against foreign culture took advantage of the educational facilities liberally provided by the Government and rapidly ousted the backward Muslims from the position occupied by them in the administration. When the Muslims woke up from the lethargic sleep of a century, they found the doors of service practically closed to them, and had it not been for the solicitation of a just Government to give them their due share in the administration, they would have been surely worsted in the struggle. They found easy access in all the Provinces except Bombay to executive posts in the gift of the local Governments, but in the clerical staffs of the Government Offices and especially in the central ones, where clannishness reigned supreme, it was difficult even for properly qualified candidates to find a place.

Mussalman leaders have always deplored this state of affairs, not because they regard State service as the best means of livelihood, but because in the present circumstances of the country they realised that a community which had no representation in the administration of the country would carry but little weight in the councils of Government and would be able to offer but a weak defence against the onslaughts of rival communities who monopolised appointments under Government. In the last Sessions of the League the following resolution was passed :—

"In view of the necessity and importance, under the existing circumstances of India, of each community being duly represented in the administration, the All-India Muslim League considers the number of Mussalmans employed in the various branches of the public service, absolutely inadequate and strongly urges on Government to give the Mussalman community that share in the public service to which it is entitled by reason of its importance and numerical strength."

I submitted this resolution to the Government of India, with a letter strongly urging that the Muslims of India should be given a share of

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Government appointments, proportional to their ability, their numerical strength and the historical importance of the community. It was also made plain that the League sought for no special favours, nor was it desirous of placing a premium on inefficiency, its sole contention being that when fully qualified Mussalman candidates were forthcoming, there was no reason why their claims should not be taken into consideration. This letter could not but elicit a sympathetic reply from such a just and benevolent ruler as His Excellency Lord Minto, as the following extract from the Home Department letter will show :—

"The League is no doubt aware the Governor-General in Council desires that the Mohammadans, like every other community should enjoy that share of Government patronage to which the number and importance of their community and their educational and other qualifications entitle them. His Excellency has no information to show that local Governments and Administrations do not share this desire, and I am to suggest that if the League have reasons to think that in any Province the Mohamedan community does not receive in this matter the full measure of consideration that it deserves, they should represent their grievances to that local Government who, the Government of India do not doubt, will accord the most careful and sympathetic consideration to any representation so made." Encouraged by such a just recognition of Muslim claims, I thought it my duty to enlist the sympathy of the various Heads of Departments to our cause, and I am glad to say that owing to that innate sense of justice which characterises English gentlemen of birth and education, my appeal, based, as it was, on hard facts and figures, invariably met with a ready response. I am glad to be able to record that as a result of these efforts several hundred Muslims have succeeded in securing appointments in the various departments of the State and that as a rule the applications of Mohamedan candidates for employment now receive more sympathetic consideration.

In this connection it may also be mentioned that when under the new reforms scheme it was decided to appoint an Indian Member to the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Governors of Bombay and Madras and also to bring into existence an Executive Council for the Province of Bengal, strong representations were made to the Provincial and Supreme Governments to safeguard our communal interests and I am glad to mention that the Government ultimately did justice to our claims by appointing the Hon'ble Mr. Syed All Imam to the Viceroy's Executive Council than whom no better Indian could have been selected.

SEPARATE REPRESENTATION ON MUNICIPAL AND DISTRICT BOARDS.

No question is of more vital importance to the Mussalman community of India at the present moment than their acquisition of the right of separate representation on Muncipal and District Boards. A similar

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contention with regard to the Imperial and Provincial Councils, has been graciously recognised by Lord Minto's Government. But, as is well-known, the Municipal and District Boards form the initial rung in the electoral ladder, and as long as a sufficient number of seats is not allotted to Muslims on Local Boards, they cannot be said to be in complete enjoyment of their civic rights. The memorable Mohamedan deputation which waited upon Lord Minto in 1906 emphasised the importance of these Boards, and His Lordship generously acknowledged the contention. The Mussalmans had every hope that when the regulations regarding elections to the Imperial and Provincial Councils were promulgated, the turn of the Local Boards would come. The Decentralization Commission too endorsed their views in unmistakable terms.

The Government of India has not yet formulated its views on the recommendations of the Commission, but the Mussulmans have every hope that their claims in this connection will be recognised. I represented the matter to the Government in March last and was informed that the matter was under consideration. This question is of paramount importance to us and we should not cease agitating it so long as the goal is not in sight.

WAKFS.

The mismanagement of *wakfs* is a question of grave concern to the Mussalmans of India. Mussalmans of wealth and position have in all countries bequeathed large sums of money for charitable purposes, but unfortunately their pious wishes have been seldom carried into effect by trustees. At present the maladministration of *wakfs* has become a perfect scandal. The trustees are not responsible to any body, and they believe they can do whatever they like with the trust property. In the single town of Rangoon, Muslim *wakfs* amount to more than a crore of rupees, and if they were properly administered, and their revenues spent on objects of public utility, the Mussalmans would no longer remain a backward community. At its last Sessions the League passed a resolution strongly urging Government to undertake a survey of Mussalman *wakfs* and publish a statement throwing some light on their number, general purposes, and manner of administration. I submitted this resolution to the Government of India, with a strongly-worded representation and was informed that it could not take any definite action before the League could establish its contention that the *wakfs* were mismanaged, and that there was a concensus of Mussalman opinion in favour of reform.

The reply of the Government is very discouraging as it seems to question the *bona fides* of the League and its right to speak on behalf of the Mussalmans of India, which has been repeatedly recognised. As to unanimity of the Muslim public on the question, I have only to point out that never a dissentient voice has risen to protest against the

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contention of the League in this connection, and what is more, even the interested parties who are fattening on the proceeds of these *wakfs* have been kept down by the force of public opinion from opposing our efforts in this direction.

The League at present would experience a good deal of difficulty in undertaking a detailed survey of the management of *wakfs* while the Government through the agency of its district officers can obtain information required at a very short notice. I have, however, requested the Provincial Secretaries to supply me with data regarding the administration of *wakfs* in their Provinces. But I am afraid that it will be a long time before the information called-for is to hand.

WAKF-ALAL-AULAD.

"The cognate and equally important question of *Wakf-alal-Aulad* too was considered at the last Sessions, and a resolution adopted. In submitting the resolution to the Government of India, I clearly pointed out that on a speedy solution of this knotty problem depended the future prosperity of the Muslims of India. The Government referred me to the reply given to the Honourable Mr. Jinnah with reference to his interpellation on the subject in the Imperial Council, which is as follows :—

"The Government are aware that objections are entertained to the exposition of the law on the subject of *Wakf* contained in various decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council."

"As at present advised the Government are not prepared to undertake legislation with the express object of upsetting Judicial decisions to which exception is taken. They are, however, ready at any time to accord their fullest consideration to any specific proposals for legislation directed to the object of securing family settlements of a limited nature, provided that such proposals are generally approved by the Mohammadan community."

At the suggestion of the League the Hon'ble Mr. Mohamed Ali Jinnah has undertaken to submit to the Council a bill on the subject of *Wakf-alal-Aulad* and I am glad to say that he has been taking so much interest in the question that he has had a draft Bill carefully prepared in England and will place it before the Imperial Council at its next Sessions.

TRANSVAAL.

The unrighteous deportation of Indian residents from the Transvaal, and the insulting provisions of the Registration and the Emigration laws of the country, raised a storm of indignation throughout India. Our Muslim brethren in that country too were nobly bearing the ordeals imposed upon them and it was decided that the League should be at one with the other sections of the people of India on the point. I submitted a representation to the Government of India on the subject, praying for

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the immediate interference of the Imperial Government in the matter and took a prominent part in a meeting held under the auspices of the Indian South African League at Madras to bid farewell to the Transvaal deputees. I may add that at its last Sessions, the League contributed a sum of Rs. 1,000 to the South African League, and many of its members too added their *quota*. Though the question has latterly assumed a more acute phase the establishment of the South African Union, however, holds out better hopes of its fair and early settlement.

URDU.

The League has marked with grave concern the determined efforts made by politicians of a certain school to undermine the position hitherto occupied by Urdu in the United Provinces, the Punjab and Behar, in order to push the claims of the so-called Hindi language and the Devanagri script. The League has no business whatever to interfere in the efforts made by people of other races to revive their language and literature, but it cannot let go unchallenged covert attacks on Urdu, which after their religion, is the chief bone of union between the Muslims of different parts of India. At its last session the League adopted a resolution for the preservation of Urdu language and literature, and I have repeatedly circularised the Provincial Secretaries concerned to be on the look-out and see that Urdu-speaking people are returned in the Census form as speaking that language and none else.

DEPRESSED CLASSES.

Acting under the instructions of the Council of the League a memorial was presented to the Government of India on the advisability of the separate classification of the depressed classes. The practice has hitherto been to class the depressed classes as Hindus, although they have no religious or ethic affinity with the Hindus properly so-called. Their classification as Hindus has been a source of disadvantage both to them and to the Mussalmans. If these so-called untouchables were regarded as a separate entity, the benign Government would have certainly instituted enquiries into their wretched condition, and had done something to ameliorate it. Their wants are many. Government has established schools and colleges for the benefit of the people, but these unfortunate classes cannot take advantage even of the primary schools where the high-caste teachers and scholars are afraid of being polluted by their touch ! They have no civic or political rights as they lack the property and educational qualifications. But let them be classed separately and let them feel that they are not helots but men of real flesh and blood, they will strike out new paths for themselves, and with the active support of the British Government which is always ready to befriend the helpless and down-trodden, they are sure to better their condition.

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Their inclusion under the head Hindus is disadvantageous to the Mussalmans too, as it gives the Hindu community a fictitious numerical importance to which it is not entitled. The Mussalmans cannot but protest against this state of things as long as the principle of numbers is the ruling principle in the administration of the country and the numerical strength of a particular community is one of the principal tests of its importance. As an alternative to this it was urged that if it was not thought practicable to show the depressed classes separately from the Hindus, measures should be taken to enumerate them at least in such a way that their exact numbers may be easily found out in the Census returns. To the eminently fair and moderate representations of the League, the Government replied in the following terms :—

"In reply I am to say that the Census schedules are filled in on the basis of the information supplied by the persons enumerated, whose statements as to their religion must be accepted. All persons, therefore, who return themselves as Hindus must be treated as such for the purpose of Imperial Table VI.

"The question whether it is feasible to prepare a satisfactory estimate of the number of persons thus classed as Hindus who cannot properly be so regarded is under the consideration of the Government of India."

The League has the fullest faith in the good intentions of the Government, but it mostly depends on the discretion of the enumerators whether the members of a particular caste be returned as Hindus or non-Hindus or Animists. My experience and that of many officers engaged in Census operations is that the enumerator seldom takes the trouble to enquire into the religious beliefs and the history and traditions of groups of aborigines of a low caste when determining their nationality. It is a matter for congratulation that Mr. Gait, the Census Commissioner, with his deep knowledge of the history of Indian religions and the ethnology of the various races and tribes inhabiting the Indian continent, has taken up this question in right earnest and it is hoped that he will not be deterred by the interested, though baseless, agitation raised in certain quarters.

INNS OF COURT REGULATIONS.

The Council of Legal Education while revising its regulations for admission to Inns of Court and the call to Bar placed Indian students under a double disadvantage by providing that they could be admitted to Inns of Court on the condition that they had graduated at a University and produced a certificate of good behaviour from a District Magistrate who has known the applicant at least for a year. These provisions creating as they did an invidious distinction between His Majesty's Indian subjects and others were looked upon with alarm especially by well-to-do Mussalmans who by sending their sons to England for a call to the Bar saved three or four years.

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The All-India Muslim League and its London Branch submitted representations to Lord Macnaughten, President of the Court of Legal Education, submitting that as they deemed the influx of Indian youths of an immature age into England undesirable, Indian students should be required to have passed the F. A. examination and to produce certificates of character signed by any Judge or Magistrate to whom he was known previously. To this representation Lord Macnaughten replied that the objections raised by the League were fully considered at a special meeting of the Council of Legal Education but as no change can be made in the Consolidated Regulation without the consent of the Four Inns, his Council was powerless to amend the existing Regulation. As this is a matter fraught with serious consequences for the rising generation a resolution forcibly voicing the feelings of the community on the subject will be moved at the next Sessions.

FORMATION OF NEW PROVINCIAL LEAGUES.

During the year under report two Provincial Leagues were called into existence, *viz.*, Burma and Central Provinces and the Berars Muslim Leagues. When I went to Burma to attend the last annual Sessions of the Mohamedan Educational Conference at Rangoon, I took the opportunity to make a tour of the important Muslim centres of Burma along with Nawab Mushtaq Husain in order to popularise the cause of the League in the Provinces. As a result of my labours and the devoted exertions of M. Abdul Karim Jamal, Haji Ahmad Mulla Daud and Mr. A. S. Rafiqi, a Provincial League for Burma was formed at Rangoon with Mr. Abdul Karim Abdus Shakur Jamal as President and Messrs. A. M. Dawood and Rafiqi as Secretary and Joint Secretary, respectively. The Burma League during its short life has amply justified its existence by taking in hand the different questions affecting the welfare of the Muslims of the Province.

The Mohamedans of the Central Provinces and the Berars are very backward both educationally and politically, and the awakening that characterises the Musalmans in other parts of India has hardly found an echo there. Although the Mohamedans of all other Provinces had risen up to the necessity of properly organising themselves, the Muslims of the Central Provinces remained plunged in lethargy and they had no representative institution which could take corporate action to protect their interests or voice their needs. As the All-India Muslim League had accepted the invitation of Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak, the representative of the Central Provinces, to hold the Sessions of the League this year at Nagpore, the want of a properly constituted Provincial League was keenly felt and Mr. Malak applied to me for help and consequently I deputed Mr. Mohomed Yusuf Khan, my personal assistant, to Nagpore and also wrote a leaflet, describing in popular language the aims and objects of the League, for free distribution

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among the Muslims of the Central Provinces. Mr. Mohomed Yusuf Khan with characteristic energy made a prolonged tour of the Province and succeeded in forming a Branch League in every District. No doubt the success which Mr. Mohomed Yusuf Khan was able to achieve was in no little measure due to the ever-willing assistance of Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak and other influential Muslims of the Province. In the fourth week of October I went myself to Nagpur and in the presence of delegates from all the districts inaugurated the C. P. and the Berars Muslim League amidst great enthusiasm. Rajah Azam Shah, the representative of the ancient Kings of Gondwara, has been appointed President and Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak, a prominent leader of the Muslims of the Central Provinces, as Honorary Secretary of the Provincial League and it is hoped that under their able guidance it will be able to look to the communal interests of the Musalmans. The Bengal Provincial League although in existence since 1908 had owing to some internal defects become thoroughly disorganised and so, at the instance of His Highness the President, I made a prolonged stay in Calcutta in trying to reconcile the jarring elements that form Muslim society in Bengal and though complete success did not crown my efforts I was, however, with the cordial co-operation of Prince Ghulam Mohomed and Messrs. Syed Shumsul Huda and Syed Sultan Ahmed, able to place the Provincial League on a sound and working basis which under the guidance of its energetic and devoted Joint-Secretary, Mr. Syed Sultan Ahmed, Barrister-at-Law, has been doing very creditable work.

The Eastern Bengal and Assam Provincial League was also in a moribund condition and completely overshadowed by the Provincial Mohamedan Association, a sister institution. After a long correspondence with the officers of the League, I paid a visit to Dacca in the middle of October and thanks to the well directed efforts and sincere co-operation of the Hon'ble the Nawab of Dacca and the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Syed Nawal Ali Choudhry, a conference of the leading Musalmans of the Province was held at Dacca and amidst great enthusiasm it was resolved to amalgamate the Provincial Mohamedan Association and its thirty-two branches throughout the Province, with the Provincial League. This step has resulted in considerably strengthening the Provincial organisation and it is to be hoped that the League as now reconstituted will be able to give a better account of its stewardship of Muslim interests.

PROVINCIAL LEAGUES.

The All-India Muslim League, as I have said elsewhere, is not a body of agitators, but an association of earnest and resolute men for the attainment of certain ideals. Its success depends to a great extent upon the solidarity of its organisation, the hearty co-operation of the Provincial Branches with the parent League, and the existence of District Leagues all over India. The Provincial Secretaries though devoted

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to their honorary duties have also their own work as lawyers or men of business to attend to and hence it is necessary to have a sufficient permanent staff and also some paid or honorary agents to carry on the propaganda in the districts. I am glad to observe that some of the Provincial Leagues, notably the U. P. League, have realised their needs in this respect and I would earnestly draw the attention of others to it.

The existence of properly constituted District Leagues will greatly add to the influence and popularity of the Provincial Leagues and I would draw the attention of their Secretaries to the advisability of taking immediate steps to found Leagues in all the districts of their Provinces. On the whole I am glad to say that the Provincial Leagues have been working satisfactorily, and if they could see their way to adopt the suggestions I have made, these bodies will surely become stronger and more useful.

Before concluding, I may also make a reference to the splendid working of our London Branch under the able guidance of its veteran President, the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali, who stands in the fore-front of Indian statesmen. Its masterly representations on some of the most burning questions of the day, characterised as they have been by much force, moderation and reason, have set an example to others and commanded the universal respect of all sections of the English and Indian press.

CLUBS.

In the memorable speech which the Rt. Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali sent out to be read at the Delhi Sessions of the League, he suggested the foundation of Clubs at various centres and head-quarters of districts to promote more wholesome relations between Mussalmans, and put a stop to the forces of disintegration which are at work. I circularised the Provincial Leagues to act upon the suggestion and am glad to say that social clubs have been established at Lucknow, Lahore, Dacca and Allahabad. I have not received any information about work in other Provinces. It is necessary that the Provincial Muslim Leagues should try to obtain control of the existing Clubs and work them efficiently and start new ones in the districts.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE LEAGUE.

The dearth of wholesome political literature for Mussalmans has been felt by our leading men for a long time, and I have tried my best to supply this want as the success of the League depends, to a great extent, upon its popularity with the mass of Mussalmans. Early in April I published a little *brochure* in Urdu entitled, "The Muslim League and its Principles," which was widely circulated in the Central Provinces and other parts of India, where the branches of the League do not exist. So far as the Central Provinces were concerned it produced very beneficial results and created such an enthusiasm in the Muslims

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of that Province that we were able to establish a League in every district of that Province. Shortly afterwards I published a larger pamphlet dealing exhaustively with the origin, organisation and work of the League, in which I tried to set forth at some length the political aims and ideals of the Indian Mussalmans, the duty they owe to the Government, the extent to which they could co-operate, without prejudice to themselves and the Government, with the other communities and the reasons for their demand for separate representation. This pamphlet was subsequently translated into English, and translations into Burmese, Bengali, Tamil and Gujrati are in active preparation. To popularise the cause of the League copies of the English edition were sent to all the important officials of Government. H. E. Lord Minto in acknowledging its receipt graciously remarked "He is very pleased to have seen it and hopes that it will do good. The topics dealt with are couched in a simple and interesting way which should appeal to the Muslim public and a continuation of the series will be looked forward to with great interest."

It would be a tedious repetition to reproduce appreciations of the pamphlet by officials in India and members of both the Houses in England. I may add that it was accorded a hearty welcome by the Mohamedan, and the moderate section of the Hindu Press.

HONORARY SECRETARY'S TOUR.

Under instructions from His Highness the President, I made an extended tour of the country to popularise the principles of the League and to look into the working of the Provincial Branches. As the year was far advanced before I was able to organise the Central Office properly, I had to be out on tour during the most trying season of the year. Shortly after the transfer of the Head-quarters of the League to Lucknow, Allahabad had been fixed upon as the Head-quarters of the United Provinces Muslim League and as there was some friction about it, the very first thing I had to do was to go to Allahabad, to help the Honourable Nawab Abdul Majid and other provincial leaders to smooth away difficulties and carry out the decision arrived at. I am glad to say that our combined efforts were successful in removing all friction and achieving the desired end with unanimity.

Early in May I went to Calcutta and had to spend three busy weeks in disposing of various questions connected with the re-organisation of the Bengal Provincial League and in trying to bring about more cordial relations among the local leaders. I am glad to say that our efforts succeeded in organising the League on a practical basis, and from that time, under the able guidance of its energetic Joint-Secretary, Mr. Syed Sultan Ahmed, it has been working for the good of the community. I returned from Calcutta on the 6th June and after a short sojourn at Head-quarters during which I paid a hurried visit to Bareilly, an important Muslim centre in the United Provinces, I left for Poona on the 31st July.

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At Poona on account of the inclemency of the weather I had to remain indoors for the most part of the day. I was, however, able to enlist the sympathies of all the Muslim magnates there to our cause and also to pay my respects to H. E. the Governor of Bombay and explain to him the peculiar position and needs of our community. My stay at Bombay was rather short but I did my best to bring about a better spirit of harmony and co-operation among the various Muslim leaders and also to enlist their sympathies to our organisation. I regret to say that the influential city of Bombay is not well represented on the Provincial League and I think we shall have to seek for special remedies to remove this defect. From Bombay I went direct to Madras where on account of my long and intimate connection with Hyderabad I am much better known. My visit created great enthusiasm among the Muslims of Madras and I was called upon to address several important and well-attended public meetings on the current topics of the day. I was glad to note evidences of a wide-spread awakening among our brethren of the South which bids well for the future. While at Madras I received many invitations from the Mofussil but being pressed for time I could only pay flying visits to Vanyambadi and Bangalore. Vanyambadi is an important centre of Muslim commercial enterprise and wealth and the local magnates have established a school with a palatial building in the Indo-Moorish style, which under the guidance of its devoted Head Master Mr. Mahomed Ibrahim Koraishi, M.A., L.T., is making rapid strides. At Bangalore I addressed a very large and crowded meeting on the present needs of the Muslims and also visited the various Muslim institutions. The Muslims of Bangalore are still in a very backward condition but they are now waking up to a sense of communal life. Returning from Bangalore to Lucknow, I went in the early part of September to Simla where I spent some three weeks and was able to make the acquaintance of almost all the high officers of state and explain to them the objects of the League in general and our aims and aspirations in particular. I intended to go from Simla to Lahore to look into the affairs of the Punjab Provincial League but as the Honorary Secretary, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Mohomed Shafi, happened to be at Simla I had to postpone my visit. In the second week of October I went to Dacca to help in placing the Eastern Bengal and Assam Provincial League on a sound footing. Although the League had been in existence for some time it was in a moribund condition and a meeting of delegates from all the districts of the Province was in my presence called at Dacca, at which some questions of great communal interest were discussed and it was unanimously resolved to amalgamate the Provincial Mahomedan Association and its thirty-two branches with the League. I was also able to enrol some two dozen members for the Central League on which Eastern Bengal, in spite of its importance as the chief centre of Muslim population in India, had been so far very

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poorly represented. After returning from Dacca on the 23rd October and attending a meeting of the Council at Lucknow I went to the Central Provinces where given a cordial reception and in a large and well-attended meeting including delegates from all the districts of the Province, I inaugurated the Provincial League. During my stay at Nagpore I also saw the Chief Commissioner and other high officials and explained to them the aims and objects of our organisation. At the invitation of the Muslims of Bareilly and Cawnpore I paid short visits to those places and assisted in creating among them a greater spirit of solidarity and more watchful regard for communal interests. I was altogether on tour for some four months and had to travel more than twenty thousand miles. It is not for me to say what the results of my prolonged tours have been, but I may be permitted to observe that they have not failed to arouse the community to a keen solicitude for its interests, a better and healthier spirit of co-operation among the various leaders and a unity of action and sentiment between the Central League and its Provincial Branches. In this connection I have to make special acknowledgments for personal kindness and hospitality to the Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid and Syed Abdul Raof of Allahabad, the Hon'ble Syed Ali Imam, Mr. Justice Syed Sharfud-din, Mirza Shujaat Ali Beg, Khan Bahadur, Nasirul Mumalik, the Hon'ble Syed Shamsul Huda, Messrs. A. Rasul and Syed Sultan Ahmed and Prince Ghulam Mahomed of Calcutta; the Hon'ble Moulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmed and Ibrahim Seth of Poona; the Hon'ble Mr. Fuzulbhoy Currimbhoy Ebrahim, the Hon'ble Mr. Ibrahim Rahmatulla, C. I. E. and the Hon'ble Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah of Bombay; Mr. Yakub Hasan, the Hon'ble the Prince of Arcot, Mr. Justice Abdul Rahim, the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mohomed and Mr. Syed Abdul Kadir, Editor, Mukbir-i Deccan, of Madras; Mr. Mohomed Abbas Khan and Nawab Ghulam Ahmed Khan of Bangalore; the Hon'ble the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca and the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Choudhry of Mymensingh; Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak of Nagpur, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Munshi Asghar Ali Khan and Nawab Hamid Hasan Khan of Bareilly and Hafiz Mohomed Halim of Cawnpore. I have mentioned only a few names but were I to enumerate all the gentlemen who either helped me in my work, or from whom I received personal courtesy, I am afraid, my task would never come to an end.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE LEAGUE.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that the League is steadily increasing its usefulness and power of good by constant addition of men of light and leading to its numbers. At the close of the year 1909 there were 182 members on the rolls, to which 88 were added during the current year making a total of 270. The progress so far made is very satisfactory, but considering that the statutory strength of the League is 800, the goal seems still very far. It is the duty of the Provincial

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Leagues to propose members for the Central League but I regret to state that many of the Branches have so far failed to realise their responsibility in this respect. Most of the gentlemen whose names have been proposed by the Provincial Leagues have been induced by me personally to become members during my tours.

This is rather discouraging, but I am confident that the Provincial Secretaries would devote more attention to this matter in future.

THE COUNCIL.

The Council of the League has been very active this year, having held nine meetings against three in the last year. At these meetings a variety of questions relating to the working of the League and the welfare of Mussalmans were carefully considered and resolutions adopted. Only one meeting had to be adjourned for want of a *quorum* while others were in most cases well-attended. The deliberation of the Council were, as a rule, characterised by a spirit of harmony, a high sense of public duty and a deep devotion to communal interests.

FINANCE.

An abstract of the monthly accounts is appended to this report from which it will appear that owing to the growing needs of our organisation expenditure has considerably increased and if the League is to cope successfully with its work there is still room for further expansion, for instance, the employment of a few well paid agents, the further strengthening of the staff and the establishment of a good library, of which a nucleus has been formed since I assumed office, are absolutely necessary. Our income this year has been barely sufficient to meet our expenditure and if a permanent fund is not started the League will not be able to fulfil its mission.

It has already been shown that the work has more than doubled during the year under report and as Mr. Muhammad Yusuf Khan remained on deputation for more than four months in the Central Provinces founding District Leagues, the remaining members of the staff had to work under high pressure. I take this opportunity to place on record my high appreciation of the whole-hearted manner in which one and all have worked. My Assistant, Mr. Hamid Ahmed, B.A., is a sound English scholar and has loyally helped me in the discharge of my duties.

WANT OF MUSLIM PAPERS.

The want of well-conducted daily papers in English and Urdu exclusively devoted to Muslim interests has been felt for a long time by the thinking members of our community. It is true that one or two Urdu dailies do exist, and in their way they are doing a lot of service to the community, but as they are private concerns and conducted for the most part on business principles, they cannot well be expected to serve the purpose of nationa organs.

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Turning to our English papers we have to note with regret that we do not possess a single daily in that language. The advantages of having efficient and well-conducted papers under our control are self-evident and it is absolutely necessary that we should have an Urdu daily to help in the regeneration of our community and creating in it a spirit of solidarity and self-sacrifice and at the same time an English daily to represent our cause to Government and before the bar of English public opinion. I, therefore, appeal to men of light and leading in our community to take active and immediate steps to bring them into existence, otherwise our organisation will fail to make its voice heard in the councils of the Empire.

CONCLUSION.

Before concluding I wish to express my heart-felt gratitude to our recognised leader His Highness the Aga Khan, than whom there can be no greater well-wisher of his community. His Highness has been taking the keenest interest in even the smallest details of our work and his sound and statesman-like advice has always been of the greatest service to us. Personally I am under great obligations to him for he has been constantly in touch with me and his weekly letters have been a source of strength and guidance to me.

I have much pleasure in acknowledging the loyal assistance so ungrudgingly given by the Secretaries of the Provincial Leagues. I am proud to have a Joint-Secretary of the capabilities of Mr. Syed Wazir Hassan whose relations with me have been most cordial. Haji Mohamad Musa Khan, the other Joint-Secretary, is also a sincere worker in the cause of the community.

Before bringing this report to a close I would be failing in my duty were I not to allude to the sad event which plunged the greatest Empire the world has ever seen in unutterable grief, I mean the death of the King-Emperor Edward VII, the father of his people. His Majesty's demise cast a shadow over the whole of his Dominions, but nowhere was it mourned more sincerely than in India and especially by his Mussalman subjects who have always been distinguished for their deep devotion to the throne.

The first resolution which was moved by the President referred to the death of His Majesty King Edward. It was carried as befitting the occasion in solemn silence and ran as follows :—

1. "The All-India Muslim League voicing the feelings of the sixty million loyal Musalmans of India expresses its

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profound sorrow at the lamented demise of His Majesty King Edward VII, who during his short but illustrious reign not only succeeded in winning the esteem and affection of all the members of his world-wide Empire, but was justly regarded as a friend and promoter of peace throughout the civilised world."

The next resolution moved from the chair related to the accession of the present king was received with acclamation and loud applause by the audience and was as follows :—

2. "The All-India Muslim League on behalf of the Musalmans of India, tenders its loyal and respectful homage to His Majesty King George V on his accession to the Imperial throne, prays for him a long and happy life and a prosperous and glorious reign, and looks forward with joy and gratitude to the opportunity which His Majesty is graciously affording to the people of this country, of according to him the most cordial welcome that has ever been offered to any Sovereign by loyal and devoted subjects."

The President referred to the great joy His Majesty's intended visit to India had given them and he hoped the Muslims would suitably commemorate it as proposed by His Highness the Aga Khan. The allusion of the President to the coming visit of His Majesty evoked great enthusiasm and the proposition was carried by acclamation.

The Chairman next proposed :—

3. "The All-India Muslim League tenders its sincere thanks to His Majesty the King-Emperor, the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy for the liberal confirmation of the principle of having an Indian on the Imperial Executive Council, and further begs to express its cordial sense of obligation for the recognition of the communal interests of the Musalmans by elevating the Hon'ble Syed Ali Imam to the legal

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membership who, the All-India Muslim League feels sure, will prove a source of strength to the Government of India."

In moving the resolution he said they were rejoicing that one of their ex-Presidents had been called upon to fill the most important place in the Viceroy's Executive Council that could be given to an Indian under Lord Morley's reforms. The proposition was put to vote from the Chair and carried unanimously.

The first Sessions then came to a close.

SECOND SITTING.

The second Sessions commenced after lunch at 2-30 P.M. In this sitting many important resolutions were adopted and the speeches delivered were practical and to the point. His Highness the Aga Khan entered the Hall after an hour and was enthusiastically received. He sat throughout the evening taking a keen interest in the proceedings.

The first resolution which referred to the appreciation of Lord Minto's services was moved by Nawab Nasirul Mumalik Mirza Shujaat Ali Beg Khan Bahadur (Persian Consul General).

It ran as follows:—

"The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep appreciation of the sterling services rendered by Lord Minto, during a period of stress and storm, to the cause of Indian progress during his tenure of office, by his far-reaching scheme of reforms, the association of Indians in the real government of the country, and statesman-like recognition of the just claims of the Musalman community for its proper share in the administration of the country."

In moving the resolution, he said:—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I have been privileged and feel a great honour to move the resolution which has been put down in my

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name. This resolution is the outcome of the fulness of grateful hearts for the boon which has been conferred by the sterling services rendered to India by Lord Minto. After the able references to those services by the President of this Sessions of the Muslim League and the President of the Reception Committee I can hardly add to them. You are well aware when Lord Minto succeeded to the Viceroyalty of India, he did not, as the President remarked, succeed to a bed of roses and that on assuming office he was confronted with a political problem of great complexity. Since the Proclamation of Queen Victoria of blessed memory in 1858, India has been preparing itself to assimilate western culture and thought and with the progress of education there has been a growth of political ideas and new aspirations in the country. Lord Ripon's sympathetic administration gave an impetus to these ideas but of late years the transition has been rapid which generally follows when scattered forces of a country are being collected for a change in the social and political regeneration of a nation. Such was the time of stress and storm in which Lord Minto was sent out to India and did signal services to the cause of Indian progress by his far-reaching scheme of reform. He realised the situation in India and so did Lord Morley in England. It was evident to them that the policy enunciated from time to time showed that England considered it to be her duty to study the interest, the happiness and the welfare of the people of India, that the people of India should be associated and assisted in the administration of the country and that all disabilities in regard to public employment should be removed and that the policy of the British rule should be a policy of justice and righteousness of the advancement of the people. The Indian administration should be brought into closer contact with the Indian peoples and it is by an honest, courageous and statesmanlike policy that England would be able to discharge its momentous trust, the most momentous trust that was ever committed to a great State. This brings one to the broad and statesmanlike policy of Lord Minto. The enlargement of the Councils, the further discussion of the Budget, the appointment of Indian Executive members of the Imperial and Provincial Councils, the nomination of Indians to the Secretary of State's Council are the principal reforms which have won for Lord Minto the admiration and gratitude of our country and community. With these few words I move the resolution.

Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Munshi, Bar-at-Law of Rajkote, in a few words, seconded the resolution.

The resolution on being put to the vote was carried unanimously.

The next resolution gave voice to the deep appreciation by the Muslim community of Lord Morley's services to the

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Indian Empire and on placing it before the meeting the Hon'ble Syed Shamsul Huda of Calcutta made a very eloquent speech.

The resolution runs as follows :—

"The All-India Muslim League respectfully places on record its deep appreciation of the masterly and statesman-like manner in which the Right Hon'ble Viscount Morley of Blackburn has guided the destinies of His Majesty's Indian Empire in a period of storm and stress, never departing in spirit from the best liberal traditions, and expresses its deep sense of gratitude to him for associating Indians in the real government of the country, and courageously inaugurating a system of reform whilst the country was seething with discontent, and in that connection doing justice to the claims of His Majesty's Musalman subjects."

In proposing the above resolution he observed that Lord Morley was a commanding figure in the public life of modern England and India. In the muster-roll of distinguished Englishmen, who have plunged into Indian affairs with an abounding love and have served her with passionate devotion, Lord Morley will be one of the most distinguished. How many of us, the children of the soil, whose bones will rest here, whose interests, sympathies and reminiscences are centred in this ancient land, can claim to have exhibited in the record of their lifework, the self-devotion, the unflinching self-sacrifice and the supreme love for India and her peoples, which have always been the dominating features in the public career of Lord Morley?

If it is true that the unrest, of which we hear so much, and much of which is due to the impact of British influence and of Western civilization, it is true in an equal sense, that the public spirit, which glows in the bosoms of so many of us, has derived its impulse and its living inspiration from the examples of great and good Englishmen

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like Lord Morley who remained unmoved during a period of storm and stress. The Musalmans of India at any rate are deeply grateful to Lord Morley as he has given them an opportunity to take part in the public life of the country and that he was glad to say that so far as the Muslim members of the Imperial Council were concerned they were able to hold their own with the best representatives of the other communities. The resolution was seconded by Hon'ble Fazalbhoy Karimbhoy Ebrahim and carried *nem con.*

The sixth resolution dealt with the extension of the principal of communal representation to Local Boards and Municipalities and was moved by the Hon'ble Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad of Poona.

The resolution ran as follows :—

" The All-India Muslim League once again records its deliberate opinion that in the interests of the Musalman community, it is absolutely necessary that the principal of communal representation be extended to all self-governing public bodies, and respectfully urges that a provision for the adequate and effective representation of the Musalmans on Municipal and District Boards is a necessary corollary of the application of the principal to the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, and at the same time essential to the successful working not only of the Reform Scheme, but also of those public bodies themselves."

The Hon'ble Moulvi Rafiuddin in proposing the resolution made a characteristic speech, vigorously criticising the principle which led to the exclusion of the Muslims from Municipalities and Local Boards and pointed out clearly the need for communal representation on these bodies. When the Local Self-Government Act was introduced twenty-seven years ago the Mohammadans of the Bombay Presidency presented a petition to the Government protesting against Municipal elections by means of wards instead of by means of sections. They were informed

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that they were too premature in anticipating the results of the Local Self-Government Act and that a fair trial should be given to it, and if the Act failed in its operation to do justice to the Mohammadans, steps would be taken to amend it from time to time. The Mohammadans repeatedly sent in complaints of their interests in Municipal matters being inadequately represented in Municipalities and Local Boards. Twenty-seven years had gone by and the Act had been given a fair trial with what may be called disastrous results to the Mohammadan community, and the result is that they had not sufficient opportunity of being trained in the primary duties of citizenship for which Municipal and Local Boards furnish training ground. The question derived its importance from the enlargement of privileges likely to be vested in the Local Boards as a result of the recommendations of the Decentralization Commission. If they were carried out subdistrict boards would be universally established and be given charge of primary education, vaccination, sanitation, etc., etc. The services referred to were of vital importance to the everyday life of the people, and it was quite conceivable that unless arrangements were made for ensuring its due representation, the Muslim minority would labour under a great hardship and be practically debarred from the enjoyment of its civic rights. It was, therefore, essential that while according fresh privileges to local bodies Government should take steps to secure the protection of Mohammadan interests by the medium of electoral regulations for their separate adequate representation. If they sent a representation to Government on the subject through their distinguished leader and revered President he was sure their representation would be considered favourably.

Syed Tufail Ahmad of Fatehpore in supporting the resolution threw considerable light on the inadequacy of

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Muslim representation in his own district although it has a large Muslim population. In a few touching words he brought to the notice of the audience the hardships to which they would be subjected if separate representation were not given to them in the Municipal and the District Boards.

The resolution was then put to vote and carried unanimously.

The seventh resolution which related to *Wakf-alal Aulad* was moved by the Kazi Kabiruddin, Bar-at-law of Bombay.

The resolution ran as follows:—

"The All-India Muslim League reiterates its firm conviction that their Lordships of the Privy Council have fallen into an error in deciding that under the Mohammadan Law it is not valid to create a *Wakf* or Endowment the immediate object of which is to benefit and secure from want the relations or descendants of the endower, and in view of the disintegration of Musalman families consequent on this misinterpretation of the law and the disastrous consequences resulting therefrom to the well-being of the Muslim community, the League again strongly urges upon the Government the desirability and urgency of a legislative enactment declaring the validity of such endowments and thus restoring to the Musalmans of India the full benefit of their own law to regulate their religious institutions of *Wakf* which is now conceded to them in this particular merely in name."

In proposing the resolution he made a well reasoned speech. He first dealt with the question historically and then adduced many quotations from approved law books regarding the validity of this kind of *Wakfs*.

He said.

YOUR HIGHNESS AND GENTLEMEN,—There is not a more interesting question to the Mahomedans of India at the present juncture than

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that of "*Wakf-Alal-Aulad.*" The law in question relates to the most ancient and cherished institutions of preserving the family property upon which depended the prosperity of the principal Mahomedan families which had rendered important services to the state in times of danger. The Privy Council by its last decision has completely upset this branch of the Mahomedan law. The judgment affects *Wakfs* of that nature that were made in this country since the foundation of the Mahomedan rule in India as also those that might be made in future. It will conduce to the breaking up of an institution which rests on the highest religious and social sanction and which in the past has saved a large number of Mahomedan families from destitution, while it has at the same time enabled pious Mahomedans to practise what they look upon as an act of great religious merit. The advantages of this system were mostly taken by the landed gentry who largely belonged to the middle classes. The decision encouraged mischievous people to go to courts to set aside the long established *Wakfs.* They have succeeded and thus brought about disruption in numberless families. The best families are ruined and reduced to poverty. The properties that were so far saved have been split up into small fractions and thus destroyed.

The decision of the Privy Council has created most curious and at the same time most unreasonable position for the Mahomedans. The English law gives certain latitude for the family settlement; but that is also denied to the Mahomedans as they are subject to and are governed by the Mahomedan law. Privy Council has curtailed the rights of the Mahomedans according to English notions, without giving them corresponding advantages which are enjoyed under the English law. The judgment may be due to the misconception of the real spirit of Mahomedan law or to the misunderstanding of the texts upon which that law is based, or to the inability to find out the original texts bearing on the point. Whatever the cause be the fact remains that their Lordships' judgment is completely inconsistent with true principles of the law.

The important question that is troubling the Mahomedan mind throughout India at the present moment is how to remedy this state of affairs. Before making any suggestions it would be desirable to deal with the question, what is "*Wakf-Alal-Aulad*" and what was the intention of the original law-giver? and at the same time point out by example how it was acted upon during the lifetime of the Prophet, and how did the jurists or the expounders of the Mahomedan law understand it and explain it; and how the Mahomedans in different parts of the world during the last 1,300 years have understood it and acted upon it.

The laws of all countries are partly of universal application and partly operative on particular communities only. Among most of the civilised nations of the world the former class occupies a pre-eminent

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position while the latter generally relate to a few concerns of small minorities. But in British India the situation is quite the reverse. While the laws applicable to all the sections of the people alike are not quite so few and unimportant the laws dealing with the concerns of particular communities are by far the more important part of the two and occupy at once, partly by intrinsic merit and partly by historical worth and partly because they influence and govern at every step the everyday life of the followers of two of the greatest religions of the world, a pre-eminent position not only among the laws of British India but also among the laws of the world. These are the Hindoo and the Mahomedan laws, the former governing all questions of succession and inheritance of 207 millions of His Majesty's Hindoo subjects and the latter governing all questions, *viz.*, marriage, gifts, &c., among the 65 millions of the Mahomedan subjects of His Majesty in India and the everyday life of 140 millions of Mahomedans outside India in Turkey, Persia, Arabia, Africa, &c. The Mahomedan law as contrasted with other systems of law at once presents one strong distinguishing mark: it bears the impress of the personality of the great Arabian Prophet in all its branches. After the death of the Prophet, the Koran was the sole guide of the faithful. In addition to that every act of the Prophet's life, his utterances, &c., were considered as authoritative, and were resorted to for the purpose of furnishing solutions to some of the difficulties of the day. In fact the whole Mahomedan law, and the entire system of Mahomedan Theology of Ritual and Ethics is based upon the Koran and the Sunnat of the Prophet, as well as Hadis, Ijmaa and "Kiyas." Later on Mahomedan law was divided in four schools. The principal school in British India, and for the matter of that, in the whole Moslem world, is the celebrated Hanafite school. Abu Yusuf and Imam Mohomed, disciples of Abu Hanifa, expounded the Mahomedan law very accurately, and all jurists of more or less renown have followed them. These are the only authoritative sources of Mahomedan law and it is in them that we are to find a solution to our difficulties.

The technical expression for a charitable and religious endowment is "*Wakf.*" According to the two disciples of Abu Hanifa "*Wakf*" signifies,—"the appropriation of a particular article in such a manner as subjects it to the rules of divine property whence the appropriator's right in it is extinguished and it becomes the property of God, by the advantage of it, resulting to His creatures."

The doctrine of "*Wakf-Alal-Aulad*" practically starts from the date of the founding of the religion of Islam. A Mahomedan was taught to believe that the motive, which induces a man to make a *Wakf* was that God should be pleased with him and show him favour. This motive is entirely religious, because Islam teaches him that God's favor and pleasure are worth having and worth striving for. As a Mahomedan is

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specially charged with the ideas of his religion, his views are in accordance with the ideas inculcated by his religion and his motives are perfectly in consonance with his special training under that law. His religion furnishes him with the principles of the best mode of realising his hopes and his desires. Thus when a Mahomedan is seeking religious reward, he is guided by his own laws and not merely by the laws of universal morality. Muslim jurists have pointed out that *Wakfs* have the sanction of the Great Prophet himself, "Ghaitul Bayana," a book of great repute, states—Khalifa Omar once consulted the Prophet as to the most pious use he could make of his land, who declared "tie up the property (corpus) and devote the usufruct to human beings and it is not to be sold and made the subject of gift or inheritance, devote its produce to your children and your kindred and the poor in the way of God." Fathul Kadir, another work of high authority, says, Prophet always maintained that all human actions ended with the life of the individuals, except such benefactions as were perpetual in character. There are many instances of this kind in other books.

Endowments or *Wakfs* are to be found in all communities. But the Mahomedan law provides that when a person dedicates his property to God, for some object of piety or charity, *i.e.*, to benefit the poor and the indigent, that property does not remain liable to be sold, gifted, or inherited. Other religions confine the object of charities to strangers, whereas Islam, on account of its catholicity, makes its scope wider and provides that even a man's relations can partake of its benefits. Islam enjoins it as a duty on a person to support himself, his family and his descendants and further provides that the performance of this duty will entitle him to a reward from God. It must also be marked that the demerits of the English law of entail do not exist in this Moslem endowment. It does not make over all the property to a single heir. It proposes that all the heirs should be supported by the endowment. Such *Wakfs* have been in force for the past about 13 centuries, and have been cherished and valued by Mussalmans, in every country, where Islam is recognised and practised as an integral and essential part of their religious system. They are based upon the direct ordinances of the Founder of the Mussalman religion which are regarded by Muslims as Divine Commandments, supplementary to those contained in the Koran. The Prophet not only declared such *Wakfs* valid and lawful, but encouraged their creation by dedicating his own property, the little he had, to his posterity. There is no difference among the sects, in which Islam is divided, about the validity and lawfulness of such an institution. This form of Islamic law and custom was so well recognised that innumerable *Wakfs* to descendants existed throughout the land and they were recognised by English courts up to a very recent date.

Ever since the connection of Britain with India, the East India Company and the Crown alike, have by various Acts of Parliament and

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Indian legislature guaranteed to the people of India that they shall be governed by their personal laws. Since the year 1871, the Acts mentioned above have laid down an obligation on His Majesty's Courts in India to administer the Mahomedan law to the Muslims. One of the objects of the Act of Parliament, 21 George III, Cap. 71 was "that the inhabitants should be maintained and protected in the enjoyment to all their ancient laws, usages, rights and privileges." The provisions of the above Act have been repeatedly re-enunciated in later statutes in England and India and are now substantially embodied in the Bengal Civil Courts Act VI of 1871, and "constitute one of the most important guarantees given to the people of India by the British rule." The Indian courts successfully administered it till the time they were assisted by "Muftees" or Mahomedan law officers, as they could ascertain through them the purport of the original texts. Since the abolition of the posts of Muftees an English Judge who is unacquainted with the language in which the law is written finds considerable difficulty in understanding the spirit of that law. The judgments of the "Muftee" period show unparalleled uniformity and adherence to the original principles, intentions, and the spirit. Subsequent judgments show departure from recognised texts owing to the aforesaid difficulties. Another unfortunate effect of the abolition of the posts of "Muftees" was that educated Muslims gate up cultivating the knowledge of Muslim law as there was no opening for them. Mahomedan law being clothed for the most part, in the garb of unfamiliar language, the Western lawyers and judge s found it extremely difficult to ascertain and apply its principles. They, therefore, invoked the aid of the English law, either to cut down or explain away its meaning and were thus induced to introduce Western thoughts and ideas into the principles of this law Thus the former uniformity underwent a change. The decision of the Judicial Committee is the crowning point.

Recently certain cases of ancient *Wakfs* came up before the Calcutta High Court and their decisions directly conflicted with the generally accepted view of the Mahomedan law, and with the prevailing customs and practices and sentiments of the people on the subject.

Till the year 1874 it was an undisputed and clearly laid down principle that Wakf, under which income of the property was reserved for the benefit of founder's life, and after him for that of his descendants in perpetuity, was invalid. In that year Baboo Shamcharan Sircar embodied that principle in his Tagore law lectures. It was in 1887, in a Bombay case, Mr. Justice Farran first suggested that such a *Wakf* was not valid. There were two conflicting decisions of Calcutta High Court in 1891 and 1892. But the Full Bench of that Court held against their validity.

The Judicial Committee had for the first time in 1889 expressed an opinion that to create a valid *Wakf*, there must be a substantial

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dedication and not an illusory one of property to charitable uses. At that time they had declined to decide whether or not a gift to charitable uses, which was only to take effect, after the failure of all the grantor's descendants, would be illusory. In 1894 in another case they not only reaffirmed their former decision but further laid down that a provision for the poor after the total extinction of the family would be illusory. The effect of the decision is that any *Wakf* under which the founder has reserved the income to himself for life and after his death to his descendants, cannot now be sustained in British India, and all rights and interests created under such *Wakfs* in former times are destroyed. The principle affirmed in this judgment is universally believed to be subversive of the Mahomedan Law of *Wakfs*. The result was that ancient "*Wakfs*" were picked up and wrecked.

The Mahomedan lawyers throughout India are unanimous in asserting that the view taken by the Privy Council is incorrect and contrary to the most cherished charter quoted above. The law as administered by Mahomedan Judges in Mahomedan countries such as Turkey, Egypt, Persia, etc., and that administered in Mahomedan states in India, *viz.*, Hyderabad, Bhopal, Tonk, Rampur, etc., is in accordance with Mahomedan law and against the interpretation of the Privy Council. This may be verified from the fact that a very large proportion of land in Turkey, Egypt, Persia, and India was and is even now held under family settlements created by way of *Wakf*, constitutioned and conditioned in the way in which they were done here in this country.

Further all the recognized books on that subject prove that *Wakf* for descendants are allowed. It is well nigh impossible to give a complete list of all Mahomedan Lawbooks, but I propose to select the few leading and recognized ones.

"The Hidaya" is the most celebrated Lawbook according to the Hanafite school. It is a commentary on the "Badaia-al-Mubtada" and most of the matter contained in it was from "Jamia-as-Saghir" and "Kuduri." All these three books are the most recognized books amongst the Mahomedans. The Hidaya being a work of such eminent authority is illustrated by a large number of commentaries, the most conspicuous of them being (*a*) the Nihaya, (*b*) Inayah, (*c*) the Kifaya, (*d*) the Fathul Kadir, (*e*) the Fawaid. There is a book "Multak-al-abhar," which is referred to as an authority in the Turkish Dominions. Another book published in Alexandria in the year 1893, called "Droit Mussulman de Wakf" (Hanafite). Another was published in Constantinople in the year 1890. It is called "Lois Regissant less Proprietess Dedies (a Wakf) par Omar Hilmi Effendi." In addition to these there are other books in which decisions are collected so that they are really the law reports or the case-law of that period. Besides (1) the Fatawa Kazi Khan, (2) the Tanwir-al-absar, and its commentaries, (*a*) Manh-al-ghaffar,

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(b) Durr-al-mukhtar, (c) Radul Mukhtar and (3) the Fatawa Alamgiri are all considered as authorities.

The Mahomedans rely upon these books as their authorities and expect English Judges to expound the law from these books.

As the law settled by the decisions of the highest courts in India and the Privy Council stands at present the *Wakfs*, the sole or main object of which is the support of the settlers' descendants and relations are entirely invalid though a provision for descendants and relations in a *Wakf* making a substantial dedication to charity, is not invalid.

The Privy Council have expressed their views in the case of Abul Fata vs. Rasamaya (L. L. R., 2, Cal. 631). Their Lordships apparently seem to hold that the same consideration which would make the creation of successive life estates invalid under a gift also apply to a settlement made in favour of descendants and relations, and further, that perpetuity is as vitiating a circumstance in the case of a family settlement as in that of a gift. Their Lordships maintain that certain precepts with reference to family settlements originating from the Prophet do not exactly apply in spite of their excellence, though their Lordships add that it would be unjust to the great law-giver that he was thereby commanding gifts for which the donor exercised no self-denial, in which he took back with one hand what he gave with the other, and which were to form the centre of accumulation of income and futther accessions to family property; which protected the so-called managers from rendering accounts and which sought to give donors and their families the enjoyment of property free from all liability to creditors.

To sum up, to the best of my ability, the objections of the Privy Council come to this; as far as possible I have quoted their Lordship's own words :—

(1) "If examined broadly there appears no difference between a gift and a *Wakf*. Both are resignations in favour of another or others. The question therefore arises that if a Mahomedan cannot, under the Mahomedan law, create a single inalienable life interest by means of a gift, it does not stand to reason that he should be allowed to do so by merely saying that he creates a *Wakf* and does not make a gift. Not only this, but if the argument of the appellant is carried to its logical conclusion by a mere introduction of the name of God, he is allowed to create an inalienable life-interest. This position appears unsound in principle and hence unjust. It, therefore, must be declared to be illegal."

(2) "So many privileges, attached to *Wakf*, are mainly owing to its charitable purpose and religious sanctity. It is this feature more than anything else which makes it so favourably looked upon by the Mahomedan law-givers. Charity is the principle underlying Wakfs and hence it is essentially necessary that it must be strictly adhered to. Therefore unless the bulk of the property is set apart and devoted to

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charitable uses, a mere mention of the word *Wakf* would make it valid in a court of law."

(3) "It is said that *Wakf* is a religious institution, a most cherished one too. Now a religious institution must be co-extensive with charitable uses. Without a charitable use there can be no religious trust. Self-preserving or self-aggrandising institutions can in no sense be said to be religious. Perpetual family settlements, even though made as a *Wakf*, are merely clothed with an apparent religious sanctity, as long as they are mainly intended for the benefit of one's family. They cannot be made in the name of religious trusts unless they take the form (not merely outward) of a substantial dedication for the benefit of the poor. There must be a provision for the poor therein, coming into operation at once."

(4) "This provision for the poor must be substantial, and must not be put off indefinitely, or to take effect after a long time. It must come into operation at once or at least as soon as possible after the creator's demise."

(5) "Help to one's own family members can in no sense be called charity. Hence a dedication for the benefit of one's own descendants and relations in perpetuity can never be charitable one. It is an act which may be highly commendable socially, but not being charitable one, it cannot form a valid object for *Wakf*. To be a *Wakf*, dedicated for charitable objects, it must be mainly for the benefit of the poor as a class."

(6) "The original texts cited by Mr. Ameer Ali J. (Now Right Honorable) in his judgment, from various law-books of great antiquity, are merely abstract in character, and do not occur, in the various passages, as having a mandatory character. Such passing sentences were not written by the authors, in answer to, or in satisfaction of the difficulties."

(7) "The precedents cited are also of very vague and abstract character. The instances show that certain persons made certain arrangements, and some of them were approved by the Prophet himself. But beyond these plain facts, we know nothing else. In order that they may serve as guiding precedents, we ought to know much more about them before we can rely upon them."

(8) "The authority of the Hidaya—the most authoritative law-book of Islam—is not in favor of the validity of such *Wakf*, but is rather against recognising such *Wakfs*."

Before putting forward the views of the Mahomedan lawyers, let us consider the above-mentioned arguments.

(1) As regards the analogy between "Gifts and *Wakfs*," they are completely distinct from one another. The motive of a gift is purely secular while that of a *Wakf* is pre-eminently religious. A gift is

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dedication, without consideration, unless it is Bilewaz, in favor of a private individual, regardless of any religious merit. Restrictions are therefore imposed upon gifts to avoid a contingency of a person cheating one's creditors. But a *Wakf* is in its very nature a religious act. In Eastern communities law and religion are very much blended together; even everyday actions of a man are governed by religious forms. Islam is pre-eminently so. In it acts approved of by religion are clothed with legal sanction. The renunciation, in favor of God of one's own property, which is the essence of *Wakf*, was thus warmly approved of by the Prophet. The religious merit, which was the consideration for such a dedication, was looked upon as more valuable than money or property. Such a dedication can be (*a*) immediate or (*b*) remote. Both were looked on with approval. It is the latter which forms the subject-matter of this paper. Thus no analogy can be drawn between these two forms of dedications, as they differ so widely in form and spirit. The law-givers naturally cherished the latter, because the consideration for a *Wakf* is the favor of God; whereas the consideration for a gift is the "favor of man."

(2) The English Judges have used the word "charity" in the sense of the English law. Whereas interpretation put upon it by Mahomedan law is entirely different. This misinterpretation has given rise to all the errors. There is a vast difference between the word "charity" and the word "piety" in the English language. The one denotes a social virtue, while the other denotes a religious virtue. The one is an act which bases its claim to recognition as a virtuous act on the sanction of Secularity, the other on the sanction of religion. A pious act and a religious act are the same. Anything which is pious is religious. The two ideas are so inseparably associated together. But a charitable act is not always a religious act. A particular action may be charitable and at the same time may be opposed to religion. In every society (at least in every civilized society) the ideas of charity are almost the same. That which is charitable according to English ideas is also charitable according to Hindoo or Mahomedan ideas. But an action approved by the Christian religion may be looked upon with indifference by the Islamic religion, and may also be strictly forbidden by the Hindu religion. It is a matter of common experience that human charity is controlled and regulated by religious notions, and what would be charitable in the eyes of a particular sect need not necessarily be charitable in the eyes of another. Thus "charitable" and "pious" are not synonymous, but totally distinct ideas. *Wakf* is a pious act according to the tenets of Islam. The use of the word charity in connection with *Wakf* is unwarrantable and confusing. It is sanctioned by the lawgivers of Islam, not because it is charitable but only because it is religious. Hence any decision adjudicating

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upon the question of *Wakf*, which proceeds on a consideration purely of the meaning of charity, is bound to be erroneous and opposed to the spirit of the institution of *Wakf*.

(3) The same fallacy underlies the argument, "a religious institution must be co-extensive with a charitable use." With due deference to their Lordships, I cannot subscribe to the above proposition. Similarly a proposition, "without a charitable use there cannot be a religious trust," must be challenged as not always true. When Mahomedan Law bases the validity of a *Wakf* on its religious nature, it is useless to judge it from the English notions of charity. The Law of Islam sanctions *Wakfs*, not because it is charitable but because it is religious. The only condition laid down to make it a valid dedication for one's own descendants, is that it should, at some time or other, result in favour of the poor, *viz.*, the favourites of God. There is no idea of charity alone in the institution.

(4) & (5) "Help" to one's own family can in no sense be called charity. Hence a dedication for the benefit of one's own descendants and relations, in perpetuity, can never be a charitable one. "Charitable" it may not be as the word is understood in the English language. But if such a dedication is sanctioned by the religion of Islam and commended as both religious and charitable (using the word charity, as it is understood in the Muslim world) it cannot be set aside, simply because it does not agree with the meaning of the word charity as it is understood in the English language. Not being a social institution, it is not correct to judge it according to the ideas received in society.

(6) The question is not whether the texts are abstract but whether they serve the purpose for which they are cited. If it is found beyond all shadow of doubt that they support the institution of *Wakf*, nay, not only support but commend them from a religious standpoint, then whether they are abstract or concrete does not matter much. But, as a matter of fact, the texts cited are neither abstract nor are they mandatory. They are the direct answers of the Prophet to various questions put to him by his disciples and bear directly on the point. However, if the question merely rests on this, then it will not be very difficult to solve it to the satisfaction of all; for it is very easy to multiply the quotations to any length. Mr. Ameer Ali, Judge of the Calcutta High Court, quotes a precept of the Prophet Mahomed, to the effect that "a pious offering to one's family to provide against their getting into want is more pious than giving alms to beggars." This is not an isolated saying of the Prophet on the subject, but there are a number of authentic traditions and examples of the same :—

(*a*) Ibrahim Huzuly mentions in his book "Ghuriebul Hudees" that Abu Bakar, son of Abu Shybuta, reported to me that Hufs, son of Hyas, has heard from Hesham, son of Oorwa, who heard from

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his father that Zoobair, son of Awaim, made *Wakf* of his house on such of his daughters as may be divorced.

(*b*) Abdulla bin Amar made a *Wakf* of the share which he inherited from the Khalif Oomar to his needy Descendants.

(*c*) Arkam made a *Sadka* of his house on his children, adding that "This is *Sadka* in the name of God Most High and Merciful, and it shall not be the subject of sale and inheritance."

(*d*) Baihuky mentions in his book "Khilafyat" that Abu Bakar Abdulla, son of Zareer Hameedy, said that Khalifa Abu Bakar made *Sadka* of his house in Mecca on his sons and this *Wakf* subsisted up to the present day.

(*e*) The Khalifa Oomar made a *Wakf* of his property in Merwa with appurtenances on his sons and the *Wakf* still subsists.

(*f*) The Khalifa Ali made a *Wakf* of his house and lands in Egypt and his property in Medina, for his daughters, and the *Wakf* still subsists.

(*g*) Saad, son of Wakkas, made a *Wakf* of his property near Merwa, and his house situate at Medina and in Egypt, on his descendants, and this continues to subsist up to the present day.

(*h*) Fathul-Kadir, an authoritative commentary on Hidaya, mentions the following precedent:—"Zubair bin Awam made a *Wakf* of his house for his divorced daughter."

(*i*) The same book also mentions, on the authority of Hakim, that the house near Safa in which Prophet resided in the early days of Islam, was made a *Wakf* by Arkam for the benefit of his sons with a condition, that neither shall it be sold nor shall it be a subject of inheritance.

(*j*) The same book quotes with approval, from another authoritative book, "Kitab-al Khilafat" of Baihaki, that "Amr-bin-ul-As made a Wakf of his house in Taif, Mecca, Medina, for his children and it still subsists."

(*k*) In Kootoobe Sittah reports that, "Ibni-i-Oomar" says that Omar obtained a piece of land in the Khaiber and requested the Prophet to advise him how to deal with it. The Prophet asked him to make a *Wakf* of it in such a way that the corpus should remain preserved and not be liable to be sold or inherited, and the benefit should go to the poor, kinsmen, travellers, &c.

In addition to the above instances, a number of authoritative books report the Prophet to have said that if you spend anything on your family and relations it is good *Sadka* and best charity. One or two instances of that may be quoted here:—

(*a*) "Sahib Muslim reports from Jabir that on one occasion Prophet replied to a questioner that "commence with thyself, *i.e.*,

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maintain yourself first and so gain *Sadka* to yourself first and if surplus remain give it to your Ahl (relations)."

(*b*) Tibrani has reported from Aboo Imama, that said about charity that "whoever maintains himself, this is to him *Sadka* and whoever maintains his wife and his Ahl (relations) and his children, this to him is *Sadka*."

The last but the most important instance of *Wakf* is that by the Prophet. The "Kifaya" at page 889, Vol. II, also refers to it. The *Wakf* was of a garden or Hawaib which exists up to the present day. It is also called "Abraham's Wakf."

This is formidable though by no means an exhaustive list of *Wakfs*. It shows that *Wakfs* were made by the Prophet, by his companions or Khalifas Abubakar, Oomar, Oosman, Ally; by other companions of the Prophet, Saad bin Abiwikas, Zoobair, Mauz bin Jubl, Syed bin Sabit, Amr bin-ul-As, Abdulla bin Oomar, Khalid bin Waleed, Jabier bin Abdulla, Akhal bin Amir, Aboo Arwa Dawsaee, Abdula bin Zubair. A number of prominent and other women have also made *Wakfs*. Amongst them Oommi Sukma, wife of the Prophet, and Aisha, and her sister Asma, Oommi Habiba, Sufya Hai's daughter.

The men and women, whose names are mentioned above, are well-known persons in the history of Islam. The situation and full description of the properties endowed by them, are given by the authors of the traditions, after personal enquiries, at the time of writing of those books. These writers have further assured us that those *Wakfs* were existing at that date. I have no doubt if these precedents of *Wakfs* for descendants, together with their authoritative sources and detailed description had been brought to the notice of their Lordships of the Privy Council, their decision would have been of a different type.

It has been pointed above that the dedication of property for the benefit of one's own descendants is lawful according to the "Hadis" or traditions and "Fikah" or Expounded law: and all the sects of Islam are agreed that, under Mahomedan law, *Sadka* or charity is not confined to strangers, and it is considered to be the greatest charity to give to one's own family and descendants.

It is essential to realise with precision what view the Mahomedan lawyers take of the nature of *Wakf*. *Wakf* is a kind of *Sadka* and we ought therefore to know what *Sadka* is. *Sadka* is a particular kind of disposition, which has religious merit, or what we would call Sawab, as the consideration, and which includes both moveable and immoveable and might consist of the substance or of the profits, and might involve the element of perpetuity or not. "Fathool Kadir," page 833, Vol. III, explains the theory of Sawab thus:—"the Sawab or the cause of making the *Wakf*, is the intention of the *Wakif* to carry out his cherished desire, as regards this world, by giving benefit to the living, and as regards the world to come, by obtaining Takarrub, or Sawab from God

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the Great." "The consideration which the giver of the *Sadka* receives is the Sawab or religious merit. God promises Sawab in future and Koran lays down that the promise of God is sure to be realised. Verily never does God break his promise. *Sadka* is thus based on the promise of God's favour in the world hereafter." The motive of *Sadka* is religious merit. Its recipients may be rich or poor. In Hedaya, line 3, page 199, it is stated, "there is no revocation of the *Sadka* made on the rich because the object being Sawab has been obtained by its grant." *Wakf* is a disposition of the nature of *Sadka*, but with this difference that it is restricted to immoveable property, and it involves the element of perpetuity. Therefore *Wakf* involves the permanent *Sadka* of the profits.

The word "object" is sometimes used to indicate the persons for whose benefit it is made and at other times it is used to indicate the "motives" which prompted the *Sadka* or *Wakf*. The motive is to obtain religious merit; but the religious merit is often transferred from the "motive" to the "object"; and then it is asserted that the object of the *Wakf* should be religious or charitable in the sense that it should be "pious."

The "motive" which prompts a Mahomedan is that God should be pleased with him, and is a religious one. Therefore it is religion that enables us to find out what class of persons come within the object of *Wakf*. This principle is based on the theory that the members of one's own family are also members of the general body of mankind, and consequently to help the members of one's own family is to help humanity in general, and hence it is an act of virtue. Mahomedan Law literally follows the English proverb "charity begins at home." Thus under Islamic Law the *Sadka* or charity is not confined to strangers, but may also be given to one's own family or descendants, the charity is thus enjoined by the Koran: "It is not righteousness that turn your face to the east and the west, but righteousness is of him who believes in God, and the Last Day and the Angels, and the Scriptures and the Prophet; who giveth money for God's sake; unto his kindred and unto orphans, and the needy and the strangers, etc." In another place it is stated that "They will ask thee what shall ye bestow in charity." Answer—"The good which ye bestow, let it be given to parents, kindred, orphans, poor and the stanger."

The following passages occur in the most authentic books "Sahih Bookhari" and "Sahih Muslim." In the former it is written "The best of alms is that which is given after the wants of one's own family have been satisfied, and it should be begun from the family." In the latter book it is written "The Prophet of God said 'in the moneys spent over Holy wars, ransoming captives, for the poor, and over one's own family, the most meritorious in the sight of God, is the money spent over one's own family. In both the books it is stated that "When a

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Musalman spends money on his family and does so regarding it as an act of piety, it is charity." Then three other authoritative books, "Sahih Tirmizi, Ibn Maja, and Nisai," contain the following passage. "To give alms to the poor is only charity whereas to give alms to relatives is charity as well as discharging one's obligation due to one's kinsmen."

The following passage occurs both in "Sahih Bookhari" and "Sahih Muslim": "The mother of Salma says that she asked the Prophet of God whether God would reward her if she spent money on her sons. The Prophet replied, that she could do so and be assured of the reward." The following traditions are reported; the first in "Sahih Bookhari," and in "Sahih Muslim," the second; in the latter Zainab, wife of Abdulla bin Masaud, says, she heard the Prophet once addressing the women say, "that they should give alms from their jewellery, if they have nothing else, and told her husband to inquire from the Prophet, if she could give alms to him as he was poor. Abdulla asked his wife to make that inquiry herself, and so Zainab went to the house of the Prophet; at the door she met another lady who had come to put a similar question. Just then Belal came out of the Prophet's house and Zainab requested him to put the question on their behalf to the Prophet which he did. The Prophet asked the names of the women. Belal said one was Zainab, wife of Abdulla, and the other was an Ansari woman. The Prophet said 'that she will have double reward, one on account of helping a relative and another on account of giving to a poor man." The second tradition is, "Anas" says that when the following verse of the Koran, 'ye will never attain unto true righteousness until ye give in alms that which ye love,' was revealed to the Prophet, Abu Talha stood up and said, "if such was the ordinance of God and I prize my Berha estate most of all, I dedicate to God, expecting a reward and a store hereafter, from God." The Prophet expressed satisfaction at his remarks and said "I think you should dedicate it for the benefit of your relations."

The Koranic texts and traditions that have been cited above, show the Muslim law on the point. But the procedure to regulate it is also to be found in the books of Fikah or those that treat of practical jurisprudence in all its branches. In such books there are special chapters devoted to *Wakfs* on descendants. If the Mahomedan law did not recognise *Wakf*, on descendants, as is supposed by their Lordships of the Privy Council, there was no necessity of the subject appearing in the books, and a number of detailed rules being provided for the guidance of the Mahomedan lawyers. They also prove the actual practice that prevailed in the Muslim countries.

In Fatawa Kazikhan, which is a book of great authority, the following passage occurs in the chapter of *Wakfs* to descendants,—"if a man said this land of mine is in alms, and made *Wakf* of for my children, then the proceeds of the land would go to the children born of him,—males and

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females, sharing equally,—and such a *Wakf* being valid, no one gets the profits except the child born of him as long as such child is alive and if no one remains alive in the first generation the profits will go to the poor."

The Fatawai Alumgiri, a book on Mahomedan law prepared under the command of Emperor Aurangzeb, which is always recognised as the work of highest authority, expressly enunciates and emphatically lays down the lawfuluess of such *Wakfs* giving minute details as to the manner in which they should be created. It contains the following :— "and if he said for my children and my children's children and their children's children m entioning three generations then the profits of the property shall remain in the family so long as any descendants remain and the poor shall get nothing, until a single member of the family is alive, he and his descendants will get the profits the nearer and more remote being equal in such case." All books on Fikah contain such detailed procedure. I shall mention one more from another authoritative book, Durr-i-Mukhtar, "and if the generation is also included it becomes general for all descendants:"

The settled policy of the English law for centuries past had been against perpetuities of any kind. Taking their clue from the analogy based on the Muslim law of "Gift," the Privy Council have declared "*Wakf*" for descendants to be invalid only because it involves perpetuity, and thus infringes the English law. But it ought to be noted it would be extremely unjust to invalidate an institution simply because it is against notions of public policy entertained by European nations.

Now it is an universally accepted principle that whenever there is—apparently or really—a conflict or an antagonism between the supposed policy of an enactment and its express provision the duty of the judge is—whether he is in agreement with the supposed policy or not—to give effect to the express provision of the law. Considerations of policy must be confined to questions and points which are not expressly provided for by any rule of law. It is then that "justice, equity, good conscience" come in and any consideration of policy can come in only along with them. It is certainly most inequitable that policy or considerations based on that policy should be allowed to interfere and even to override the express provisions of the law.

When the British Government assumed the Government of India, every community was promised and secured the enjoyment of their respective laws in matters of religion, inheritance, succession, marriage, and other social and religious institutions, and for these purposes special acts and resolutions were passed. Amongst the institutions and laws secured to the Mahomedans by these acts and regulations is the law of *Wakf*. Hence it follows that if the rendering of that law, by the Privy Council is incorrect and against the express provisions of Maho-

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medan Law books, then it means infringing the promises given by His Majesty's Government to the Mahomedan subjects. The responsibility of the Government of India is enhanced by the fact that if this erroneous interpretation of the law of *Wakf* was allowed to prevail as *de facto* law of the land, then it would be taking away a right from the Mahomedans which has been promised and secured to them so long. Further it will be equal to recognising that the judgment law is authoritative enough to supersede actual provisions of an existing law.

This law is still correctly administered by the Mahomedan judges in Musalman States, such as--Hyderabad, Bhopal, Rampore, Bhawalpore, Khairpore, Jaora, and others. I hope the Government would not allow an impression to go abroad that this law of *Wakf* is correctly and in right spirit administered in those States, because the judges there, though Barristers, are Mahomedans. It is true that non-Mahomedans and alien judges who are made to administer this law, have not got complete machinery at their disposal to understand the intricacies of that law and similarly the difficulties in their way of understanding books like those of Hidaya, Fatawa-i-Alamgiri and others are insuperable. It is therefore not surprising to read a passage in the judgment of the Privy Council that Hidaya is against the creation of *Wakf* for descendants. If you throw aside all sentimental objections and once grasp the fundamental principle that the Mahomedan law of *Wakf* is founded on religious injunction and that a Mahomedan can create a *Wakf*, constituting his children and descendants, and kindred the immediate recipients of the benefaction, the subject becomes as clear as daylight. It is highly unreasonable that this should be subjected to any test which is absolutely foreign to it.

It is a question worth serious consideration what a far-reaching effect this subversion of system of the Mahomedan law must have upon the minds of the Muslims, who are the subjects of the British Rule, having regard to the patent fact that the other Mahomedan countries mentioned above as well as the Native States in India still administer Mahomedan law in its true spirit and in consonance with the sentiments of the peeple and uphold the "*Wakfs*" that are considered totally invalid in British India.

The Mahomedans are just realising the severity of this judgment. They feel it so keenly because these institutions of *Wakfs* have become interwoven with the entire social and religious fabric or the economy of the community and have become inseparable from their inner life. The last decision of the Privy Council has disturbed and in some cases ruined a large number of families. The blow of the judgment has been felt throughout India, because resolutions have been passed by all important associations about this subject. The Nadwat-ul-ulema, a body composed of Moulvies and learned men, has actively interested itself in moving the Government on this subject.

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The Mahomedans do not ask for any new rights or favours. They respectfully ask that this state of affairs should be remedied. Its redress can only take place through legislation. There is no other course left. There is no appeal against the judgment of the Privy Council. The past precedents and the settled practice of that body shows that a fresh Bench of the said Council do not review or attempt to alter the judgment once passed. Thus the only alternative is to resort to legislation. The Government of India ought to be a little more tolerant on a susceptible subject like this and restore to the Mahomedans the right that is given to them by their law and religion and which they have enjoyed for so many years and which is still enjoyed not only in other countries but in Native States of India. There are precedents for doing so. The Hindoo Wills Act, Native Converts Act and Succession amongst Native Christians and Eurasians. When the Government has made special provisions for other communities as mentioned above, the Mahomedans have made out a stronger case for Government support.

I trust the Government will support the bill which is shortly going to be introduced into the Supreme Council.

Mr. Syed Zahur Ahmad, B.A., LL.B., of Lucknow, briefly seconded the resolution in Urdu and it was carried without a single dissentient.

The Honorary Secretary to the All-India Muslim League then announced that the 3rd and 4th sittings of the League would be held in the Pandal on the 30th of December 1910.

This brought the proceedings of the day to a close.

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SECOND DAY.

30th December 1910.

THIRD SITTING.

The third sitting of the League took place, as had already been announced by the Honorary Secretary, in the Pandal on the 30th of December 1910.

The Pandal was tastefully decorated with flowers, while Chinese lanterns were hung about the portico amidst arches and festoons of flowers and foliage. The *pandal* was densely crowded, and the *dais* was over-full. His Highness the Aga Khan arrived punctually and was warmly welcomed by the audience. The programme contained five resolutions, most of them relating to the general improvement of the community and the promotion of union among them.

The first resolution which referred to the importance of Urdu as the *lingua franca* of India caused lively discussion.

The first Resolution ran as follows :—

(4) "The All-India Muslim League deplores the persistent attempts that are being made in various forms to set up what are called Hindi and Punjabi as the vernaculars of the United Provinces and the Punjab respectively, and to displace Urdu from the position so long occupied by it as the *lingua franca* of India, and having regard to the fact that the preservation of the Urdu language and literature is essential to the general progress of the country, particularly in Northern India, the League hopes and prays that the Government will be pleased to discountenance all such attempts to injure Urdu."

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Mr. Sheikh Zahur Ahmad, Bar.-at-Law, Allahabad, who moved the resolution, spoke as follows :—

MR. CHAIRMAN, YOUR HIGHNESS AND GENTLEMEN,—I have been called upon to address you on a subject which has been for a long time the storm-centre of controversies and which, in its importance and far-reaching consequences, yields to no other questions that are to-day stirring the educated brains of India. It is a problem affecting the whole country and has nothing sectarian about it, as some interested and short-sighted partisans will have us believe.

Gentlemen, few questions have created more bad blood between Hindus and Mohammadans than this unfortunate question of Urdu and Hindi. It has caused many a heartburning, and has done more than anything else to keep the sore raw and festering.

Mr. Chairman, I request you to consider with me most dispassionately the relative claims of Urdu and the so-called Hindi. Ever since the days of Shahjahan, hundreds of years ago, Urdu has been to all intents and purposes the *lingua franca* of India, and has practically occupied the same position in our country as French does in Europe.

There is no gainsaying the fact that the Mohammadan domination greatly affected the thought, manner and speech of the great Indian people. During this long course of years and even under British rule, Urdu has established its claim beyond all dispute to be the common medium of a very large portion of the Indian population. It has acquired a fixed literary character, and has been considerably enriched by various sources expanding every day with the growth of human thought. Of late years, a most deplorable feature of the controversy has been to excite racial feeling by identifying the advocate of Hindi with the Hindu population and the advocates of Urdu with the Mohammadans. Gentlemen, this is the most unjustifiable and unwarrantable assumption. Urdu has been the common property of Hindus and Mohammadans. It has been spoken and written quite as well by Hindus as by Mohammadans, and I make bold to say that Urdu has endeared itself through long associations to both the elements of Indian population. There are many books written in Urdu by Hindu authors, which in their literary excellence compare most favourably with any written by a Mohammadan author. The language is as chaste and pure in the pages of Naseem and Soroor as in those of Meer and Akber.

Sarshar loses nothing by comparison with any other novelist who writes in the same language and words come quite as hot from his pages as from those of Sharar. In modern periodicals "Adeeb" and "Zamana," conducted by Hindu editors, rival and in some respects excel the best Urdu journals of the day. Urdu songs and dramas appeal as readily to a Mohammadanas to a Hindu. In educated Hindu homes most straight-laced and polished Urdu is spoken and lapses are treated as a bad taste.

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If you go to a college or a school in Behar, the U. P. and the Punjab you will find the majority of the Hindu students take Persian for their second language—Persian from which Urdu has been largely drawn and they find the language easy because most of the words they heard spoken to them when they were crooning babies. Lessons written in Urdu are most readily appreciated by village schoolboys. In a word it is a cosmopolitan tongue spoken and understood from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from Sutlej to the Gangetic delta and even in some outlying parts of India and it is the only universal language of the English in India.

As far back as 1867 an attempt was made for the first time by an interested clique that the so-called Hindi instead of Urdu or Hindustani —call it by whatever name you like-- is the *lingua franca* of India. This small but noisy element had been more or less successful in inducing the Government to pass resolutions in its favour in certain provinces of India. However it evoked a storm of feeling throughout educated India because it spelled a serious blow at Urdu, the cherished language of the people.

Much confusion has arisen from the loose employment of the term Urdu and Hindi and much breath was wasted in trying to prove that Hindi as spoken in this country is a quite distinct language from Urdu. It is a great philological error to forget that a language is not distinct from another simply because it can be written in different characters. Urdu is no more Hindi if it is transcribed in Nagari character nor it loses its identity if it is written in Roman. Hindi can by no stretch of mercy be called a language in itself, it is rather Urdu degraded and vulgarized. It is a jumble of dialects and there is no such thing as a standard Hindi literature, standard Hindi Vernacular and standard spelling—one that writes it writes it according to his own sweet will and pleasure and often finds it difficult to read his own writing and, if I mistake not, there are seven if not nine ways of writing it. This hopeless confusion of dialect decked in the garb of Nagari with no settled vocabulary, pronunciation or spelling is being substituted for Urdu or Hindustani by anxious and devoted bands of patriotic champions. Urdu with its intrinsic superiority, its immense flexibility and power of assimilation, and its advantage of alphabet over Nagari as a vehicle for representing articulate sounds of our language is to be proscribed in favour of the so-called Hindi because some of our Hindu brothers choose to regard Urdu or Hindustani as a foreign imposition, and because they are anxious to show that they owe nothing to the Mohammadan rule. It is quite a mistake to suppose that Urdu is not the language of the country. It is an offspring of languages belonging to the Aryan stock and thus though not directly but indirectly belongs to the soil. Those who want to resuscitate Sanskritic Nagari because the sacred books of Vedas are transcribed in it, are only trying to bring an Egyptian

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mummy to life by constant puffs of human breath regardless of the fact that it would take quite hundreds of years before their pet language comes to acquire the position now enjoyed by Urdu in India. Raja Shew Pershad, a staunch advocate of Nagari, in an appendix to the Education Commission report, rightly observes, "Persian words have become our household words which are now used by our women and children and the rustic population as well as the urban. They wanted to use unintelligible and difficult Sanskrit words which often I myself don't understand." And as to substituting Punjabi for Urdu in the Punjab it is sufficient to say that the educated class would always prefer a standard language to a provincial dialect. Punjabi has no better claim than Hindi to be called a language in itself. The leading newspapers, journals, books and pamphlets are all written in Urdu in the Punjab and in the U. P. Punjab has rendered more service to the cause of Urdu than any other province in India. Delhi, the home of Urdu, is in the Province of the Punjab and it would be a very sad day indeed if the birth-place of Mir Ghalib and Zouque should be vulgarized by that Babylonish jargon by courtesy called Punjabi.

Gentlemen, one of the oldest charges against Urdu is that it is not suited to the Courts of law for the litigants are mostly illiterate. We ought to realize the fact that technicalities of law can not be made to suit the bovine mind. If it were not so, Chief Justice Stanley and Justice Knox would have had to undergo a course of study in the rural districts preparatory to any appearance they might make on the Bench.

Gentlemen, in vain our Hindu brethren cry up the so-called Hindi and cry down the Urdu since it is evident that their efforts to undermine it are of no avail in practical life. The anti-Urdu movement, I am grieved to think, is nothing but an affront on Mohammadans. However elaborately patriotic advocates of Hindi try to veil their laudable motives I venture to ask the accredited leaders of our country if this is a move towards the ideals of United India. The Mohammadans are always prepared to meet their Hindu brethren half-way if they work in a spirit of justice, cordial co-operation and amity.

Language is a great unifying factor between any two communities and races. It is the language that promotes uniformity of thoughts, ideals and actions. Our common language, Urdu, is the only great bond of unity between the two communities and if that bond is severed the communities will be thrown disunited from each other. Now when the spirit of fraternity and unity is in the air it would be only a retrograde movement if some narrow-minded politicians by stirring the embers of this futile controversy for ever render the ideals of a United India unrealizable. Gentlemen, I appeal to the sober sense of both the communities to respect each other's rights and privileges and to work in a spirit of mutual toleration and compromise and try their best to sink petty differences in the interest of higher ideals. If we want to be

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in the vanguard of Nations, we have to stand shoulder to shoulder and most zealously maintain any band of Unity that might be existing between the two great communities.

Gentlemen, I should not like to trespass, any further on your patience and I thank you sincerely for the patient hearing you have given me.

Mr. Mohammad Yakub of Muradabad in seconding the resolution pointed out that the existence of the Urdu language was brought about only by the contact of the two great communities and was the after-effect of the unity, and efforts to injure its very existence would be disastrous.

The Hon'ble Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed supported the resolution, saying that Urdu had been recognised as the queen of vernaculars. It was a camp language as the name implied, but it was now the language of the Indian merchants and of Indian society. Twenty-five years ago Urdu was the medium of instruction in primary schools in the Bombay Presidency, but to-day Gujarati and Marathi have usurped its place and it has been relegated to the place of a second language, and that too only in a few schools. He did not desire that the Muslim minority should impose its vernaculars on a non-Muslim majority. All that he desired was that Government should give to the vernacular of the minority the same facilities as to the vernaculars of the majority. The Director of Public Instruction in Bombay said in his recent report that Urdu should altogether be excluded from public schools, and Muslims be left to learn Urdu at home as they did their theology. He criticised the Director's statement sharply, and said that they must make a representation to Government on the subject. He said that Urdu was not only the *lingua franca* of the country but the queen of languages and any attempt to dethrone her from her high pedestal would be revolting to Mohammadan susceptibilities. The Chief Commissioner of the Province, he remarked, had pointed out yesterday the unfairness of asking 96½ per cent. of the population

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to learn Urdu but their point was that Urdu being their mother tongue the same facilities should be provided for Mohammadans as have been done to others. We don't want favour, he added, but justice.

Mr. Mohammad Ali supported the motion in an eloquent speech. He said that they were on the eve of a new era of peace and good-will between Hindus and Musalmans, and they were going to Allahabad with open minds in the sincere hope that the relations of the two great communities of India would be better hereafter than they had hitherto been. It would be foolish for either party to insist on the other signing all the thirty-nine articles of its creed, but both could and should insist on some positive indication of feelings of unity and concord. He regarded the question of Urdu a touchstone of Hindu sincerity. In a land where everything was dissimilar, races and creeds, customs and institutions, modes of thought and action, the one thing common was the *lingua franca* of the country, Urdu. It was its development and the enrichment of its vocabulary from all possible sources, Arabic, Sanskrit and English, which is the *sine qua non* of the Indian nationality of the future. Musalmans have no linguistic prejudices. In Persia they preserved and developed Persian. In Turkey they preserved the language of the destroyers of the Abbaside Empire. In India they took up the language from the soil itself and made it their own. Did they bring Urdu from Arabia or Persia or Afghanistan ? No, it was in the Indian camp and the market-place that they picked it up and eighty per cent. of the words used in their daily intercourses were such as would have no meaning for an Arab or Persian, or a Turk or an Afghan and yet he noticed that the one province with which the Musalmans were most intimately connected for a thousand years objected to words of Persian and Arabic origin branding them as *bideshi* and

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foreign. It was as if a banker was throwing into the gutter all gold and silver that bore the stamp of Arabia or Persia. No Hindu banker would throw away pure gold and pure silver simply because the coin was minted in a *lideshi* mint, and yet the Hindus of the United Provinces and the Punjab were doing what no thrifty Hindu would do in the case of his hoarded wealth. For a community justly renowned and praised for its thrift this was amazing but it was a fact. He said he was present as a visitor and journalist at this year's session of the Congress and he heard a speech of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya in what was marked in the programme as Hindi. That speech was wholly unintelligible to the Mohammadans and only partly intelligible to the Hindus of his province. It contained more Sanskrit words than any speech he had ever heard in Gujarati and Marathi. These words would have been unintelligible to the Parsis of Gujrat or Bombay who spoke Gujrati. At the same time words of Persian or Arabic origin were rigorously excluded, they had no admission even on business. But a few trespassers crept in and were speedily objected by Sanskrit translations that had to be forced in as an afterthought. Again he heard a speech which was not only in the programme but delivered at his own request by a Hindu gentleman from Cawnpore in what he called Urdu. In this not only were the complex concepts worded in Sanskrit but even its agents were garbed in the ancient garb of Vedic India. A third speech was delivered by a Hindu gentleman from Karachi and the programme said it was to be delivered in Hindi. In this there were as many words of Arabic and Persian origin as in the most high-flown bombast and fustian of an Arabic scholar. When three Hindus in the Congress labelled languages differently, he felt it would be absurd to place much credence in the entries of census enumerators. But one thing was certain. In the United

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Provinces at least Urdu was being attacked in a deplorable spirit, and in others it was being labelled Hindi. He cared little for the label, but he was much concerned with the article itself, and as he had said before he regarded the question of Urdu as the touchstone of sincerity, and hoped that one of the chief results of the Conference at Allahabad would be the development of Urdu which was the common heritage of Hindu and Muslim. Speaking as a Musalman he felt that in other provinces too the preservation of Urdu was necessary for Muslim education. Urdu should be the medium of instruction in most of the primary schools for Musalmans in the Bombay presidency, and in undermining Urdu its opponents were destroying the only chance which Musalmans had of educating themselves. He remembered a cartoon in the Hindi Punch in which the Hon'ble Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed was depicted as a child asking Sir George Clarke for some toys placed on the top of a shelf. He was made to point to a ladder marked education, which he asked the Moulvi to ascend. There was nothing very humorous in the cartoon but the real situation was intensely humorous for in reality, though not in the cartoon, the ladder had been removed and hidden away.

The Hon'ble Mr. Ibrahim Rahmutollah of Bombay remarked that the Urdu language was being treated in a stepmotherly way in the Bombay Presidency, if not in Bombay town. By quoting figures he showed that Urdu schools had increased in the town of Bombay since 1888 when only two Urdu schools existed. He hoped that if energetic people would come forward to help this language the Mohammadans would make their sister communities feel the significance of their mother tongue.

Mr. Ishaque Ali of Lucknow in further supporting the resolution, asked the members not to join hands with Hindus at the cost of injuring their mother tongue. The resolution was put to vote and unanimously adopted.

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The next resolution was of vital importance to the progress of the community and it ran as follows :—

(1) "The All-India Muslim League respectfully reiterates its prayer that the Government may be pleased to institute a thorough inquiry into the general purposes and manner of administration of existing Musalman Endowments designed mainly for the public benefit."

The above resolution was ably and in an eloquent speech moved by the Hon'ble Syed Shumshul Huda of Calcutta. He gave instances from his experience in Bengal how such endowments were mismanaged, either through incompetency or dishonesty of the trustees, and urged that this should no longer be permitted. He urged the Government to hold an enquiry on the subject and deplored the fact that though a blue-book had been issued containing *Wakf* names no other step had been taken.

Mr. Mohammad Ali, B.A. (Oxon.) in an eloquent speech seconded the proposition. He said "You would question the necessity of passing the resolution. Well if my pocket is picked I will hasten to send the man to jail, but if endowments are being misappropriated we would not care to bring trustees to account. It is a matter of great concern that we even do not know where endowments exist, and who manages them." He referred to his own experience in connection with *Wakfs* in Rander, a Sub-division of Surat. He eulogised the sympathy of H. E. the Governor of Bombay in the matter and of Mr. Anderson, the Collector of Surat, who showed a keen interest in his effort to unearth a *Wakf* of about thirty-three lakhs of rupees. He described the difficulty he had to encounter, and he found that not only the public but the Collector of Surat himself knew nothing of such a large endowment, for it was given to him to bring it to their notice. Nobody knew the amount of the *Wakf* property. One estimate placed it at eleven, another seven, and the third at thirty-three lakhs of

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rupees. Under the circumstances it was necessary to request Government to hold an enquiry for which the League had repeatedly asked and to request Government to cause it to be prepared in every district and maintained as a record open to public inspection.

The Hon'ble Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan briefly supported the resolution when it was put to vote, and unanimously carried.

The third resolution which related to the introduction of free and gradually compulsory primary education in the country was moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy Ebrahim of Bombay in a long and well-reasoned speech.

The resolution ran as follows :—

"That the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the time has arrived when a beginning, however modest, should be made in the direction of making primary education free and gradually compulsory throughout the country and for this purpose respectfully suggests that experiments should be made in selected areas."

In proposing the resolution the Hon'ble Mr. Fazulbhoy said :—

Mr. President, Your Highness, Brother Delegates and Gentlemen,—The proposition that has been entrusted to my care deals with the vast and complex subject of primary education. It has been a subject of never-ending discussion and has formed a chief plank in the writings and speeches of Indian publicists. It involves several grave and far-reaching issues and true statesmanship demands that the subject should be looked at not from one side only but that in order to arrive at a correct understanding of it, we must have a complete treatment of the question in its various aspects. In the first place it is necessary that you should draw a line between impatient idealism and the sphere of practical administration. If we mistake the wood for the tree, we would be lost. I am glad that the Muslim League recognised the need of caution in this matter of vital importance to the well-being of the millions of people in this country, and the proposition that has been placed in my hands is reasonable, though I believe it should have been so worded as to make it comprehensive and effective by directly touching the main

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issue. It runs as follows:—"That the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the time has arrived when a beginning, however modest, be made in the direction of making primary education free, and *gradually compulsory* throughout the country, and for this reason respectfully suggests that experiment be made in selected areas."

Lord Curzon had in one of his speeches admitted that one of the first claims upon its bounty that Government would do well to acknowledge will be the education of masses. He further admitted that it cannot be a right thing that three out of four villages should be without a school, and not much more than 300,000 boys, or less than one-fifth of the total boys of school-going age, should be in receipt of primary education. He even went so far as to assert that he was one of those who thought that Government had not fulfilled its duty in this respect. Ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's rhetoric passed over the field of the Indian languages and Indian text-books the elementary education of the people in their own tongues had shrivelled and pined. Lord Curzon condemned the policy and characterised it as a mistake. The fact that three out of every four Indian boys grow up without education is significant in itself, and it was high time that this most unsatisfactory and lamentable state of things was remedied with the least possible delay. The idea of free primary education is not a new one or sprung upon Government all of a sudden. As far back as 1882 the Education Commission made a recommendation to the effect that an attempt should be made to secure the fullest possible provision for an expansion of primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each province. Nearly 30 years have since passed by and the Government are in the same state of unpreparedness as they were then. The most strong argument that could be produced in favour of the proposition is that as pointed out by Sir Fredrick Lely four years ago, the Government were in favour of introducing the system of free and compulsory universal education but recent official pronouncements show that we are still far removed from that ideal as we were ever before. There is little doubt that much of the agrarian discontent and suffering prevailing among the masses, and social miseries that hedge round simple and superstitious folks are due to ignorance and no nation could ever hope to thrive in ignorance. Education must be acknowledged a charge on revenues and a State duty and the State should accept the full responsibility. Education is a vital power for the rise of nations and it is acknowledged by the best administrators that in India education is the most clamant necessity of all because it is the key to employment or improvement in different stations of life. Although as I said the Government themselves were in favour of the proposal we do not wish to embarrass them by any ultra-radical programme. Even my esteemed friend the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale did not ask when he moved his famous

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resolution in the Viceregal Council in March last supported by his eloquence and convincing facts, that elementary education should be made compulsory at once throughout India, nor did he demand that it should be made free at once throughout the country. What we at present want is that a comprehensive and definite scheme may be formulated and clarified and that a beginning should be made in selected and most suitable areas at the discretion of the Government or according to demands from the residents towards the laudable direction of making education free and useful and practical to children; and that the policy should be rigorously but judiciously followed up till every child that should have been at school was there. If any district declares itself ripe for the experiment the Government should not withhold its consent for introducing the principle of free and compulsory primary education. One is grieved to find when financial considerations are put forward as a set-back against the principle of free education. The Government incur an expenditure of about one crore and thirty-six lakhs of rupees for primary education. A few years ago the expenditure was much smaller than it is to-day. Far be it from me to deprecate what Government has already done during recent years in the way of increasing the expenditure on this head. While I greatly appreciate what they have done, I emphatically state that they have not done to the extent of the country's requirements or their responsibilities in the matter. During the last few years they have increased their military expenditure by over 13 crores of rupees, while civil expenditure has gone up by 8 crores. The expenditure on railways, post and telegraphs has also increased by leaps and bounds. The land revenue has advanced by 8 crores. A good portion of it ought to have gone towards the education of the children of those who toil at the plough. Yet during the same period the expenditure on education has increased only by a little over half a lakh of rupees. Even Japan spends over 5 crores of rupees on primary education. What the Indian Government has done in regard to this question is very little indeed compared with what has been done with highly beneficial result by other civilized States during the last 30 or 40 years. The condition of our agriculturists who swell the coffers of Government is most deplorable; they are steeped in ignorance which militates against their emancipation. Again, the Government should never for a moment forget the moral and economic aspect of the question. As a German professor has pointed out, general education is the foundation and necessary antecedent of increased economic activity in all branches of national production in agriculture, small industries, manufactures and commerce. The rapid growth and progress of civilised countries in regard to their manufactures was due to the scientific training of the proprietors and to the elementary education among the masses. Those countries that have made primary education universal

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and practical have richly benefitted thereby. India has fallen into the key of international competition and she cannot afford to stand still; much less to recede. It was time that Government prepared their programme before it was too late.

Gentlemen, as I have remarked above, the proposition could have been more pointed and attractive. For while no one disputes the benefit of popular education everything depends upon the real meaning of it. We are painfully reminded of the backwardness of our industrial progress which is handicapped by the absence of diffused education of the right sort. It is no use putting up schools which are no better than the old hedge schools with ill-trained teachers and a defective or ill-suited course of studies. We should not content ourselves by making primary education free and gradually compulsory, but we must ask the Government first of all to lay down a definite line of policy in regard to this question and we must as emphatically insist upon the necessity of a system of primary instruction suited to the needs of the recipients in different stations of life. British institutions in the East have not proved in reality as efficient as they are in the West, but even in Great Britain primary education is not free from defects. In the March number of *Blackwood's Magazine* Mr. Charles Whibley, in criticising the system of primary instruction in Great Britain, wrote as follows :— "The State having assumed the complete responsibility of the schools does not wish that each citizen should grow up capable of doing his own work well. It has no desire to make good labourers or artisans, its one ideal is a half-competent clerk who has many smatterings and no real knowledge." We should take care to escape from the sway of similar false ideals especially when the economic and industrial era is dawning upon India. Our system of primary education should be so devised as to spare the waste of efforts and secure efficiency and prevent the recipients of instruction from drifting away from the true path. The point was vigorously emphasised by our revered and emiment leader, H. H. the Aga Khan, in his address at the last meeting of this League held at Delhi. He said that our aim should be to secure to the next generation of agriculturists and artisans the fruit of their industry. The aim of primary education should be at being complete in itself up to a point, which shall make the sons of farmers and operatives better farmers and better operatives at the same time leaving wide open the avenue to higher walks of life, to those who have the means and abilities to follow it. This aim has, unfortunately, been lost sight of in India, and I am convinced that the full consideration of the end of primary educatfon is as essential as the wider diffusion of it. India has long suffered from paucity of skilled labour which is so very requisite for its economic and industrial advancement. That is due to lack of suitable primary education, which has failed to keep pace with the needs of the time and of the country, and it has therefore

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fallen behind in the economic race which is going on in the civilised countries of the world.

As to compulsion, I think if you make education free its advantage will not be taken fully until some kind of compulsion is applied, as the masses do not yet appreciate the value of education and the blessings attendant thereon. We do not want a revolutionary policy, but a policy which should slowly broaden down from precedent to precedent. I think that at this critical period it is advisable to refrain from taking any steps which may lead to any friction or irritation. We must gradually prepare the way for it by co-operation with the Government and creating a public opinion in its favour. In no country is it so very necessary as in India to move on the lines of least resistance, as nowhere the intentions of Government are more liable to misrepresentation and misinterpretation than in a conservative country like India. I am therefore pleased to note that the League is quite conscious of this difficulty which besets the path of the Government, and rightly uses the words "gradually compulsory" in the resolution. We can best carry into practice the principle of the wider diffusion of mass education in the first place by adopting and vigorously working the policy of persuasion and the provision of increased facilities for suitable elementary education. I am, however, free to admit that that is no reason why we should not press our views on the Government. The wheels of State coach move ever so slowly specially when considerations of finance are involved. I will give only one instance to convince you of the dilatory attitude on the part of the Government in the matter. In 1906 when the finances of the Government of India were in a much more prosperous condition (it was a period of large surpluses) the Hon. Mr. Gokhale suggested in the Viceregal Council that the fees in primary schools should be remitted. By this means it was hoped not only to give a remission of taxation but to give a stimulus to primary education. The proposal was put to local Governments in 1906 and a despatch embodying their views was published only a few months ago after a lapse of nearly four years.

Perhaps, the great stumbling block in the way of the Government is the sinews of war, but we can boldly assert that no subject calls more loudly for heavier expenditure than that of primary education. On the right solution of primary education depends the future of India. Ignorance and poverty are twins: they are inseparably co-related to each other. Education is of course costly, but ignorance is more so, and, however poor the country, it cannot refuse even to be further taxed for the purpose of education. We had a magnificent instance of the Mahomedans of Sind offering to be voluntarily taxed to obtain educational facilities. A Government that can afford to wipe off the opium revenue of 5 crores of rupees per annum, to satisfy the conscience of a few sentimentalists in England, a Government that allows

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the imposition, however reluctantly, of a countervailing excise duty on cloth made in India, in the interest of Lancashire, a Government which imposes duty on silver, when the principal industry of the country is passing through a grave crisis and which spends millions of rupees on military and civil charges, can certainly find means for the expansion of educational facilities if it only once lays down a definite policy and follows it perseveringly and vigorously in spite of vicissitudes of times. The Hon. Mr. Orange struck a keynote of the situation when he said in the Viceregal Council in March last that "the question of the cost of a great system of popular education has not yet been faced, but the expenditure has been increased from time to time according to the possibilities of the moment. The next stage which we should endeavour to reach is one in which the increase of our expenditure will become less a matter of chance and more a matter of calculation, that we may put before ourselves some defined standard up to which we may hope, within reasonable and a not too distant limit of time, to arrive in diffusion of educational facilities and that the provision of the funds required become part of a settled financial policy. Such expenditure will in the end not be entirely unproductive." If that stage has not already passed I think the time has certainly arrived for some defined standard and a settled financial policy to be fixed. We want the stiffening of the moral backbone of our youth; we want him to take his natural position in the industrial and agricultural world with a minimum of inconvenience and maximum of prosperity; and the ideal could not be achieved when the rising generations are innocent of even elementary instruction. I have not got the statistics of the whole of India, but in the Bombay Presidency out of 25,000 villages about 18,000 are without any kind of school. The Government have in recent years nearly doubled the expenditure on primary education and they have made a liberal provision for opening about 500 new schools every year. The supply of primary schools in the Presidency is yet far below the demand, and the authorities believe that if an extension of facilities were possible the opening of the new schools will be followed by a substantial increase in the number of pupils and about a lakh of pupils would forthwith be added without any kind of compulsion or even persuasion. But there is paucity of trained and sufficiently remunerated teachers; the provision of accommodation is small. While these conditions exist the Government, in the absence of larger doles from the Imperial Exchequer, are reluctant to remit the fees, which they think should go towards strengthening the existing institutions and providing schools where they do not exist and supplying trained and adequately remunerated teachers and making a liberal provision for scholarships to children of indigent parents. It is argued by apologists of Government that to remit fees would be to arrest progress, so long as there are unsolved

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factors which militate against making primary education universal. The apathy of the masses to education, the scarcity of trained teachers and provision of building and the financial aspects are prime factors in the situations, and attention should be first directed to surmount these difficulties. At the same time it is absolutely essential that with the quantity we should look to the quality of our educational product; and efforts should, in the first place, be directed to recruiting new material for the teaching staff of the quality that is desirable. I am glad the improvement of the salaries and prospects of teachers are inducing better men to come forward to join their ranks.

I must confess that the plea that the lack of funds is responsible for the scarcity of educational facilities is, to my mind, incomprehensible. I think the plea ought never to be put forward by the Government. Though India is poor, it is not too poor to pay for her children's education. There are many sources of revenue which could be derived by imposing certain taxation without making the tax-payer feel in any way the additional burden. If a policy of judicious retrenchment were followed in regard to the present overgrown and ever over-growing charges for the military services and civil departments it will result in substantial reductions which must go towards the education of youth. Our goal must be the formation of a definite policy aiming at making primary education general in the first instance, then free and compulsory when a certain stage is reached. We have heard a great deal about the parents' apathy, their non-appreciation of the value of education, and their reluctance to throw away the advantage of the wage-earning power of their children. There is really some force in that. The economic and other natural difficulties do exist but they are not insurmountable. When the pernicious and barbarous custom of Sutee and infanticide were suppressed by penal enactments, there was a hue and cry raised in India; but British statesmanship triumphed over deep-seated prejudices, so much so that if the same customs were revived to-day they would be denounced by the very orthodox people as monstrous and barbarous. If the people are made to understand that they will remain impecunious as long as they are illiterate, the only stimulus wanting to avail themselves of instruction will be the provision of educational facilities. As I have said, there is need of co-operation and self help to stimulate and crown with success the efforts of the Government. I am fairly of opinion that more than Government help what India wants is such example of self-help and sacrifice on the part of the people themselves. However great the odds I am firmly of opinion that we are bound to triumph in the end in the cause of universal education in India. Gentlemen, our community has not taken its proper place in education in modern India, though in the past it was renowned for learning and enlightenment. We have lagged behind in commerce and manufacture and arts of peace owning to lack of education. Of late the

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Government has given a great fillip to the educational movement, they have provided facilities for industrial education, but I have noticed with pain that so far the Mahomedans have made scarcely any use of the increased facilities for such studies as have a direct bearing on the development of Indian industries. Syed Ameer Ali referred to this shortcoming in plain terms in his address last year, when he urged that special efforts should be made to create scholarships for Mahomedan students proceeding to Europe, America and Japan for technical studies. You will be all pleased to know that the Mahomedans of India have resolved to found such scholarships bearing the name of H. H. the Aga Khan and Syed Ameer Ali to commemorate tneir eminent and enduring services to the community. I hope the community will estal lish many such scholarships. Again, I think that people's good-will and co-operation and example of self-help are much needed in this matter and will do much larger benefit than a hundred penal enactments. We must hold before us the noble lead which Scotland and Wales have furnished in the matter, and our people would do well if they were to study and profit by the conditions prevailing in those countries where people have provided themselves with a good system of education—not mainly by the help of Government or of rich men, but by the self-sacrifices of the working classes, small agriculturists and others, all of whom gave as best they could. If the same sense of self-sacrifice, and the same noble spirit were aroused in our people, the future will tell a different tale as to our advancement in the scale of civilization and in our moral and material welfare. With these remarks, I beg to propose the resolution which stands in my name.

Mr. Sheikh Zahur Ahmad, Barrister-at-Law of Allahabad, seconded the resolution in Urdu and in doing so observed that after the able and luminous exposition of the subject by the Hon'ble Mr. Fazalbhoy little was left for him to add. It was a matter of regret, he said, that of all the countries of the world which claimed to be civilised India should be the most backward in the matter of universal education. The ignorance of the masses was the greatest impediment in the progress of all reform, and as long as the Government and the people of India did not co-operate in the diffusion of education, the attempts to ameliorate the wretched condition of the lower strata of our society would always end in failure. Reform it is said, he further observed, should come from the people and cannot be

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imposed upon them. Our agriculture and the allied industries on which depends the prosperity of our country are suffering to a great extent from the inability of the ignorant cultivators to understand the possibilities of the labour-saving machinery of the West. The attempts that have hitherto been made to popularise education among the people have failed as the majority of them are unaware of its blessings, and hence a generous and far-seeing Government should have no hesitation in using a little coercion in making primary education free and compulsory, so that they may be able to appreciate the blessings of civilisation and give up their deep-rooted prejudices which stand so much in the way of progress of social and moral reform.

The Hon'ble Mr. Ibrahim Rahmutollah in supporting the proposition, observed that he had devoted some years to the subject because Musulmans were backward in education, and their awakening, which was reflected in the Conference and in the League, was delayed. If they desired to produce a united nation, then the masses should be educated. For national progress and national unity, and for the economic and social regeneration of the people, the masses should be tried at any cost and at any sacrifice, and education would solve many difficult problems which were taxing their best brains. He was glad to see many members of the Bombay corporation present at the meeting, and he hoped they would support him in his endevours to make education free in Bombay, and get the credit for Bombay of giving a lead in this much desired reform. He said that it was a mistake to suppose that time was not ripe for the introduction of free and compulsory education for the necessity of a certain thing was only felt when there was a need for it and not when that need had begun to be satisfied. He instanced Baroda which had made a beginning in free and compulsory

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education and where the experiment had proved so successful that the enlightened ruler of that State had extended the system to all parts of his dominions. He added that Indians were ready to pay more taxes for the development of free education, for they thought it high time to make a beginning.

Mr. Haji Yusuf Haji Ismail in further supporting the resolution remarked that Musalmans needed compulsion more than the sister communities and he was sure that the Mohammadans would give their hearty support to the scheme. He further remarked that girls should be the first to be taken care of. On the position of women he said 'we have rendered the half of our population useless, nay, not only useless but mischievously useless, because they actually hinder progress instead of co-operating towards it.' The time has come when the position of the girls should be radically altered and he hoped that his co-religionists would see eye to eye with him.

The Hon'ble Mr. Shamshul Huda opposed the resolution on point of principle, as he said. He thought that reforms should not be thrust but should be the result of systematic evolution. In launching this scheme we would be undertaking huge financial responsibilities for which our Exchequer was not prepared. He said that when free and compulsory education was launched in England 43 per cent. of school-going children were already in school, while in Japan 28 per cent. attended school before the introduction of the system, but in India 1·9 per cent. are now under instruction. Besides this, he feared the agricultural class would be greatly injured by the scheme. If the system had proved a success in Baroda it was due to the fact that the ruler and the ruled were one and the same, while the case was different in British India. In British India the good intentions of a foreign Government were likely to be misinterpreted. He was afraid

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people would put a different construction on the introduction of the system of compulsory education by Government.

Mr. Mohammad Ali, B.A., (Oxon.) in replying to the Hon'ble Mr. Shamshul Huda said that the question of finances was after all a minor one. It was recently shown if England went to war she would spend 500 millions if she won, and 1500 millions if she lost, and yet who could say she would hesitate on that account only if her existence and honour were concerned? Want of funds seldom prevented war nor could India be without peaceful progress for want of a million or two where her honour and her very existence as a civilized land were at stake. The real question was the recognition of education as a question involving their honour and their very existence. The more important matter was compulsion, they were told that things could not be forced down the throats of unwilling people. That was an argument better appreciated by them in their school-days; yet nobody took a plebiscite of school boys about school attendance. Nobody suggested a referendum on the question of school holidays. The Government of India would have no claims to the name of a civilized and civilizing Government if it had not abolished infanticide and human sacrifice against the wishes of those that cherished them even as religious duties. They were told that they had to consider the ryot. It was the question of his daily bread. Yes, it was for a half feed to-day. He would have to starve to-morrow if they did not educate his progeny. It was no use talking of hypothetical difficulties and conjecture evils when compulsory and free education was already established in Baroda. Funds did not prevent the great ruler of Baroda from making education free. The needs and feelings of the ryots did not prevent him from making it compulsory. The speaker then gave details of the generous exceptions made and the convenient school hours and holidays

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arranged for agriculturists and the poor. He said that to talk of such difficulties was to presume that the administrators would work out the details senselessly or out of sheer carelessness. They were told that analogies were misleading. The ruler of Baroda was an Indian and their Government foreign. He deprecated the use of that word and felt sure that Government was foreign only if it alienated the sympathies of the best of its subjects. In making education compulsory and free, Government would win the sympathy and active support of the best in the land, whereas procrastination would be fraught with grave danger. The speaker thought that Government make will its good intentions perfectly clear by supporting the leaders of Hindus and Musalmans in this matter, for the best form of freedom was free education and the most pleasing compulsion was compulsory education. The resolution was then put to the vote and carried with a single dissentient.

On the motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy, Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak and the Hon'ble Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad, Mr. Syed Nabiullah, M.A., LL.M., and Raja Naushad Ali Khan of Lucknow and Hazikul Mulk Hakim Mohammad Ajmal Khan of Delhi were elected Vice-Presidents of the All-India Muslim League. This brought the proceedings of the morning Session to a close.

FOURTH SITTING.

THE FOURTH AND THE LAST.

The Session opened at 2-30 P.M. His Highness the Aga Khan on his arrival was loudly cheered.

The first resolution which related to the paucity of Mohammadans in the various branches of the public service was moved by Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza, Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League.

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The resolution ran as follows:—

"In view of the necessity and importance under the existing circumstances of India, of each community being duly represented in the administration, the All-India Muslim League reiterates its resolution of last year that the number of Mohammadans employed in the various branches of the public service, is absolutely inadequate and strongly urges the Government to give the Mohammadan community that share in the public service to which it is entitled by reason of its importance and numerical strength, the League being of opinion that a sufficient number of qualified Mohammadans is available for the purpose."

In moving the resolution Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza delivered a speech in Urdu, an abstract of which is given below:—

"In the early days of the British occupation of India, Mohammadans occupied almost all the principal judicial and executive appointments and a knowledge of oriental classics was deemed to be a *sine qua non* for high office. At first Persian and then Urdu became the court language but gradually a knowledge of English became necessary for employment under Government and the result was that the place of Mohammadans was occupied gradually by members of other communities. The Mohammadans were for a long time under the impression that Western culture would undermine their religious beliefs while other communities having no such prejudices took full advantage of the educational facilities provided by a liberal Government and consequently the Mohammadans were rapidly ousted from the position occupied by them in the administration. Thanks to the self-sacrificing labours of Sir Syed Ahmad and the foundation of the Aligarh College there was a general awakening among the community but the progress made by the other communities had been so rapid that when the Muslims woke up from the lethargic sleep of a century, they found the doors of Government service practically closed to them. Though the Mohammadan community, as a result of this general awakening, made rapid strides in Western culture and could now boast of men well-qualified to occupy with credit to themselves and benefit to Government the highest posts open to Indians they were still looked upon as a backward community and their proper share in the administration was still denied to them. Let us throw a cursory glance at the position which we at present occupy in the public service of the

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country. The population of British India leaving out Ajmere, Andamans, Baluchistan, Burma, Coorg and North-West Frontier Province is 218, 202, 989 and of this 51, 138, 248 are Mohammadans, *i.e.*, Muslims constitute ¼ of the total population. From this it will appear that even if we leave out other considerations aside we are entitled at least to a fourth share in the public service of the country on our bare numerical strength alone, although it is hardly a fair test. Now we will proceed to see whether we at present enjoy our proper share even in this respect. On looking at the various Civil lists we find that in the different Provinces of India, there are 1182 Deputy Collectors out of whom 270 are Mohammadans; 287 Sub-Judges out of whom only 28 are Muslims; 718 Munsiffs out of whom only 80 are Mohammadans; 160 Deputy Superintendents of Police out of whom 50 are Mohammadans; out of 297 Superintendents of Post Offices and Postmasters only 33 are Mohammadans; out of 238 Officers in the Provincial Educational service only 29 are Mohammadans; the total number of Tahsildars is 1142 out of whom 238 are Mohammadans; out of 491 Assistant Surgeons only 65 are Mohammadans and out of 149 Engineers in the Provincial grades only 5 are Mohammadans. A study of these figures will show that only in the Revenue and Police services the Mohammadans occupy their bare numerical proportion, while in the other branches of the administration they are nowhere. As regards the Medical and Engineering branches of the service, there would appear to be but little cause for complaint as our community has never taken kindly to professional education but as regards the other Departments no such valid objections exist, for the community can now produce a number of educated men who are in every respect well-qualified to take their proper share in the administration.

After dealing with British India as a whole we will now proceed to see how we stand in the various Provinces. We will first take the United Provinces where the Mohammadans occupy an acknowledged position of great historical importance and we find that the total population is 47, 691, 782 out of which the Muslims number 6,731, 134. Out of 219 Deputy Collectors there are 82 Mohammadans; out of 101 Munsiffs 21 are Mohammadans; out of 35 Sub-Judges 10 are Mohammadans; out of 28 Deputy Superintendents of Police 12 are Mohammadans; out of 68 Superintendents of Post Offices and Postmasters 4 are Mohammadans; out of 31 Educational Officers 3 are Mohammadans; out of 213 Tahsildars 96 are Mohammadans; out of 95 Assistant Surgeons 9 are Mohammadans and out of 22 Engineers 2 are Mohammadans.

We will next go to the Punjab where the Muslim population exceeds the total of all other communities, (1) the total population being 20, 390, 329 out of which 10, 825, 698 are Mohammadans. We find that out of 114 Deputy Collectors 47 are Mohammadans; out of 90 Munsiffs 31 are Mohammadans; out of 24 Sub-Judges 12 are Mohammadans; out of 26

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Deputy Superintendents of Police 13 are Mohammadans; out of 99 Superintendents of Post Offices 18 are Mohammadans; out of 33 Educational Officers 8 are Mohammadans; out of 131 Tahsildars 43 are Mohammadans; out of 86 Assistant Surgeons 19 are Mohammadans: out of 32 Engineers only 3 are Mohammadans which shows that even in this province where the Mohammadans have also made considerable progress in education, they do not occupy, even in the executive services for which they are acknowledged to be peculiarly well-fitted, their bare numerical proportion.

Now we will go to Eastern Bengal where the Muslim population is more than two-thirds of the total population. We find that out of 193 Deputy Collectors 42 are Mohammadans; out of 145 Munsiffs 75 are Mohammadans; out of 13 Sub-Judges only one is a Mohammadan; out of 12 Deputy Superintendents of Police 4 are Mohammadans; out of 19 Superintendents of Post Offices only 2 are Mohammadans; out of 42 Educational Officers 2 are Mohammadans; out of 136 Sub-Deputy Collectors 36 are Mohammadans; out of 55 Assistant Surgeons only 3 are Mohammadans and out of 4 Engineers in the Provincial service none is a Mohammadan.

Deplorable as is the condition in almost all the provinces we are worst off in the Presidency of Bombay. The total population of the Bombay Presidency is 18,559,561 out of which 3,760,175 or nearly 20 % are Mohammadans. Leaving all considerations aside we are entitled to one-fifth of the posts on our bare numerical proportion but we find that out of 82 Deputy Collectors only 9 are Mohammadans; out of 116 Sub-Judges only 2 are Mohammadans; out of 34 Deputy Suprintendents of Police 8 are Mohammadans; out of 33 Superintendents of Post Offices only 2 are Mohammadans; out of 195 Mamlatdars only 3 are Mohammadans; out of 52 Assistant Surgeons only 1 is a Mohammadan and out of 19 Engineers in the Provincial service none is a Mohammadan.

This is indeed a record although the Mohammadans in spite of their backwardness have produced, at least, 100 graduates from the Bombay University alone and if we take into account others who have graduated from other Universities their number is not likely to be less than 150. Can we ask the Bombay Government, which always professes great sympathy for the Musalmans and deplores in no measured terms want of properly qualified candidates in the Muslim community, to how many persons out of these 150 graduates they have succeeded in giving employment in consonance with their qualifications?

If we compare the treatment meted out to us in the Bombay Presidency with the position we occupy in the Central Provinces and the Madras Presidency where the Muslims are few and far between and are even educationally no better off than in the Bombay Presidency the result will be still more disappointing. In the Madras Presidency out of 78 Deputy Collectors 7 are Mohammadans; out of 138 Munsiffs and

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Sub-Judges one is a Mohammadan ; out of 29 Deputy Superintendents of Police 4 are Mohammadans ; out of 36 Superintendents of Post Offices 4 are Mohammadans ; out of 38 Educational Officers 3 are Mohammadans ; out of 169 Tahsildars 11 are Mohammadans ; out of 35 Assistant Surgeons 2 are Mohammadans ; but none of the 4 Engineers is a Mohammadan.

In the Central Provinces out of 106 Deputy Collectors, 24 are Mohammadans ; out of 131 Munsiffs and Sub-Judges 6 are Mohammadans ; out of 12 Deputy Superintendents of Police, 3 are Mohammadans ; out of 9 Superintendents of Post Offices, one is a Mohammadan ; out of 14 Educational Officers, one is a Mohammadan ; out of 90 Tahsildars, 16 are Mohammadans but there is no Mohammadan Assistant Surgeon and Engineer in the Provinces.

These figures speak for themselves and require no comment.

No doubt the Government is very sympathetic to us and whenever we appreach it, orders are issued to the Provincial Administrations to do justice to our claims but past experience shows that unless persistent efforts are made nothing is likely to be done. It is often said that the Mohammadans claim special treatment but when it has been proved to you that we do not occupy even our bare proportion in the public service of the country and that there is no dearth of well-qualified candidates amongst us, there can be no question that we are seeking for justice and not favouritism. We do not want to lower the standard of service, our only claim is that so long as we do not occupy our proper share in the service of the country, our candidates possessing the minimum qualifications for Government service should have preference over those of other communities. This is the only favour we ask for. Is it too much to hope that a just and benevolent Government, like ours, will lend a willing ear to it ?

Prince Ghulam Mohammad of Calcutta, in a brief but forcible speeech, seconded the resolution which was unanimously carried.

The next resolution prayed for the appointment of younger sons of Ruling Chiefs and the scions of other noble houses to commissioned ranks in the British Army.

The resolution ran as follows :—

"That the All-India Muslim League earnestly hopes that now that the highest offices in the State have been thrown open to Indians, Government should give them a greater share in the defence of their country by appointing the younger sons of Ruling Chiefs and the scions of other

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noble houses, after receiving proper training in the Imperial Cadet Corps, to the higher posts in the British Army to which persons of British birth only are now eligible."

Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, B.A., LL.B., of Lucknow in an eloquent speech proposed the above resolution and in doing so he referred to the necessity of those who had a stake in the country to take part in its defence. At the same time, he added, an honourable career would be opened for the nobility who at present had no opportunity of serving the country and of giving a practical proof of their attachment to the Crown.

Raja Naushad Ali Khan of Lucknow in seconding the resolution remarked, "the racial barrier thus imposed on the sons of the noble houses is really more keenly felt by the Ruling Chiefs than by us and the Ruling Chiefs, if they had been as free as we are, then, I am sure, they would have made a very strong case in support of this resolution. The intensity of the feeling due to this racial barrier can be better imagined than described.

"I would respectfully but forcibly urge on the Government to consider this question favourably and to remove this barrier and I would also very strongly suggest that the Chief's Colleges and the Colvin's Talukdar School of Lucknow ought to be recognised as suitable recruiting grounds for the Imperial Cadet Corps who shall be given Commissions in the Army freely and in this connection let us hope Dehra Dun, the head-quarters of the Imperial Cadet Corps, would be the future Sandhurst of India."

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The third resolution related to the treatment of Indians in the Transvaal, praying the Government to exercise the power recently conferred upon it by legislature to prohibit the emigration of indentured Indian labour to the South African Colonies.

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The resolution ran as follows:—

(1) "That the All-India Muslim League reiterates its admiration of the intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice of the Indians in the Transvaal who are heroically suffering persecution in the interests of their mother country and appeals to all Indian Musalmans to help the cause of Indians in the Colonies with funds and in other ways.

"The League most respectfully and earnestly urges upon the Government the necessity of its exercising the power recently conferred by the Legislature to prohibit the indenture of Indian labour for the South African Union, as a matter of retaliation, so long as any South African Colony adheres to the present selfish policy and denies to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire.

"The League protests against the unrighteous and barbarous treatment of Indian immigrants in British Colonies and Dependencies, and draws the attention of the Indian and Imperial Governments to the grave consequences of permitting these dominions of the King to enforce regulations and legislative enactments based on racial distinctions, which are humiliating to His Majesty's Indian subjects, and earnestly appeals to the Imperial Government to assert its undoubted supremacy in matters of imperial importance, and to secure for the Indian subjects of the British Crown the full rights and privileges of British citizenship by the removal of such racial distinctions within the Empire."

The above resolution was moved by Mr. Yakub Hasan of Madras who in a thrilling speech recounted the sufferings of Indians in the Transvaal and other Colonies. He specially referred to the new weapon of deportation brought into use by the Colonial Government and the untold hardships to which the poor deportees were put. He expressed a hope that with the advent of the South African Union

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better days were in store for the poor, helpless Indian emigrants. The resolution after being briefly seconded by Mr. Syed Raza Ali, B.A., LL.B., of Moradabad was carried unanimously amidst great enthusiasm.

The fourth resolution deplored the reduction of age limit in the competitive examination for the I. C. S. by one year with a corresponding increase in the period of probation in England. Nawab Nasirul Mumâlik Khan Bahadur Mirza Shujaat Ali Beg of Calcutta in a brief speech proposed the resolution which ran as follows :—

"That the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the reduction of the age-limit at the competitive examination for the I. C. S., by one year with a corresponding increase in the period of probation in England, will prove detrimental to the interests of the Indian candidates for the Civil Service, and the League respectfully urges the Government to reconsider the alteration."

He began by referring to the difficulties which the Indians had to undergo in competing for the Civil Service Examination even when the age-limit was 23 years and any reduction in it would be likely to neutralise even the meagre chance they had of serving their country in the highest branches of administration. The age-limit had been raised from 21 to 23 years after considerable agitation and great deliberation and to lower it again would not be to the best interests of the country. Kazi Kabir-ud-din, Barrister-at-Law of Bombay, seconded the resolution which was carried *nem con.*

The fifth resolution ran as follows :—

"That the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the new regulation adopted by the Council of Legal Education for the admission of students into the Inns of Court will inflict unnecessary hardship on Indian students and considers that all reasonable requirements will be met by providing that an Indian student shall be qualified for

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admission if he shall have passed the Intermediate or F. A. examination of an Indian University; and even if the Council of Legal Education must take the possession of a University degree indispensable for an Indian barrister, the call to the Bar and not the admission into an Inn of Court may be made conditional on his taking such a degree.

"That the All-India Muslim League is further of opinion that the provision in the new registrations that one of the certificates of good character of candidates should be signed by a District Magistrate on the ground of personal acquaintance extending over a period of one year is extremely harsh and must result in the exclusion from the Inns of Court of a considerable number of good and worthy Indian students who may not have secured the privilege of the personal acquaintance of the Magistrate of his district for the requisite length of time, and of practically all the students of a district to which a new Magistrate is recently posted."

Mr. Syed Zahur Ahmad, B.A., LL.B., of Lucknow in moving the resolution referred to the hardships such a rule was likely to inflict upon the well-to-do classes of Indian students and also to the difficulty which will be experienced in obtaining certificates of good conduct from the District Magistrates with whom Indian students had but little opportunity of making personal acquaintance.

Mr. Mahomed Ali, B.A., (Oxon) in seconding the resolution felicitously remarked that as there was no love lost between him and his young Barrister friends he wished that their standard of capacity should remain as low as possible. On being put to the vote the resolution was carried without a single dissentient.

The sixth and the last resolution related to the very natural desire of the Muslims of the Central Provinces and the Berars to have the right of electing a representative to the Imperial Council.

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The resolution ran as follows :—

"That the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the right of electing a representative to the Imperial Council should be given to the Muslims of the Central Provinces and the Berars."

Mr. A. H. M. Anwar, Barrister-at-law of Khandwa, proposed the resolution and in doing so said that to safeguard the interests of the Muslim minority it was necessary that the right of electing their own representatives should be given to them in the Central Provinces as had been the case in other provinces.

Mr. Abdul Kadir, B.A., LL.B., of Amraoti, seconded the resolution which was unanimously carried.

Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza, Honorary Secretary to the All-India Muslim League, in thanking the President, the members of the Reception Committee and the Volunteers for the trouble they had taken in ministering to the comfort of their numerous guests, briefly remarked :—

"It is not given to every one to be a leader of men, but it is certainly within the range of everyone to make himself useful to the community and the country. Those who loom large in the public eye and on whom the mantle of fame has descended are not the only useful members of society. So while we are highly grateful to Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak, the leader of the Central Provinces Muslims, for his self sacrifycing labours in the cause of the community we are no less thankful to the other members of the Reception Committee as well as the Volunteers who left no stone unturned to minister to our comforts and make our sojourn here both pleasant and profitable to us."

The Honorary Secretary was followed by Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak who thanked His Highness the Aga Khan for the great trouble he had taken in coming all the way from Europe to Nagpore, in spite of being in delicate health, to take part in their deliberations. He

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concluded by saying that the Muslims were very fortunate in having such a wise and self-sacrificing leader as His Highness.

The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mohammad of Madras then signalised his accession to the League by proposing a cordial vote of thanks to the President for the masterly way in which he had directed the deliberations of the League.

The President, Mr. Syed Nabiullah, in a humorous little speech interspersed with pithy remarks and sage observations, summed up the proceedings of the two days. In doing so he referred to the necessity of separate electorates in Municipal and District Boards. He referred to the resolution passed by the Congress at Allahabad against the creation of separate electorates in Municipal and Local Bodies. He reminded his audience that this was a settled fact so far as Government were concerned, because in 1906, Lord Minto in reply to the Muslim Deputation accepted the principle of separate electorates in all elective bodies whether Imperial or Provincial Councils, or Municipal or Local Boards, so far as the Councils were concerned, the principle had already been applied in practice and it would remain for Government to fulfil its pledges in the matter.

Referring to the remarks of the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah in the Congress, he pointed out that he had been good enough to acknowledge that those were his own personal views and that in the matter of separate electorates in Municipalities he did not represent the opinion of the community. The President was thankful for this admission, as otherwise the resolution moved by Mr. Jinnah, who was elected by a separate Muslim electorate, would have caused a great deal of embarrassment.

He also referred to the remarks at the Congress of the Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque, who gloried in being also a member of the League and deprecated the sentiments

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expressed by him in his condemnation of a separate electorate for Muslims, the necessity for which had not only been recognised by Government and Musalmans, but also by the leaders of Hindu public opinion, such as the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. He further remarked that from the summary of the Hon'ble Mr. Haque's speech that had appeared in the newspapers with regard to the separate representation of the Musalmans it was clear that for the present he was not opposed to the application of the principle of separate electorate to the Legislative Councils but he disapproved of the extension of that principle in the case of Municipal, Local and District Boards. Mr. Haque, he remarked, did not state why a principle which was unsound in one case was sound in another. In the absence of any explanation clearing up this paradox the inference was that he had no strong justification to offer for the maintenance of separate electorate or communal representation in the case of the Councils also. Mr. Haque had thus laid himself open to the charge of inconsistency, a charge which, perhaps, applied with equal force to his colleague Mr. Jinnah, since both of them owe their present positions in the Imperial Council to the separate electorates. In conclusion the President emphatically declared that the Muslims were unanimous in the demand for separate representation, although they might take their own time in pushing their claims, which were as righteous as they were reasonable and which had already been fully accepted by the responsible head of the British Government. He then referred to the gracious condescension of His Majesty the King-Emperor in changing the date of the coronation out of regard to Muslim sentiments. He hoped that they would be able to commemorate His Majesty's visit by the creation of a Muslim University. In bringing his remarks and with them the Sessions to a close he called for six cheers for His Majesty the King-Emperor.

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the additional three being for His Majesty's graciously changing the date of his Coronation at Delhi to meet the susceptibilities of his Musalman subjects, a call which was most heartily, enthusiastically and vociferously responded to. Three cheers were also given to the acknowledged leader of the Indian Muslims, His Highness the Aga Khan.

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LIST OF THE OFFICE-BEARERS

OF

The All-India Muslim League,

FOR

1911 & 1912 A. D.

President.

His Highness Sir Sultan Mohammad Shah Aga Khan, G.C.I.E.

Vice-Presidents.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

1. Nawab Mushtak Hosain Vikarul Mulk Bahadur.
2. The Hon'ble Raja Sir Mohammad Tasadduk Rasul Khan, K.C.S.I., Talukdar of Jahangirabad.
3. The Hon'ble Nawab Mohammad Abdul Majid of Jaunpore.
4. Syed Nabiullah Esquire, M.A., LL.M., Bar-at-Law Lucknow.
5. Raja Naushad Ali Khan Sahib of Maila Raigunj.

PUNJAB.

6. The Hon'ble Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Kazalbash, C.I.E., Lahore.
7. The Hon'ble Nawab Zulfikar Ali Khan of Maler Kotla.
8. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Mohammad Shafi, Bar-at-Law, Lahore.
9. Hazikulmulk Moulvi Hafiz Hakim Mohammad Ajmal Khan Sahib of Delhi.

BENGAL.

10. Prince Jehandar Mirza, Murshidabad.

EASTERN BENGAL AND ASSAM.

11. The Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja Sir Salim-ul-lah, Khan Bahadur, K.C.S.I. of Dacca.
12. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri, Mymensingh.

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MADRAS.

13. The Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Mohammad Ali, Khan Bahadur, K. C. I. E., Prince of Arcot, Madras.

BOMBAY.

14. Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Bart., Bombay.
15. The Hon'ble Mr. Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Bombay.

CENTRAL PROVINCES AND THE BERARS.

16. Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

17. Abdul Aziz, Esqr., Bar-at-Law, Peshawar.

BURMA.

18 Abdul Karim Abdus Shakoor Jamal, Esqr., Rangoon.

Honorary Secretary.

Moulvi Mohammad Azeez Mirza Sahib.

Joint Secretaries.

1. Haji Mohammad Moosa Khan Sahib, Aligarh.
2. Moulvi Syed Wazeer Hasan, B.A., LL.B., Lucknow.

Assistant Secretary.

M. Hamid Ahmad Ansari, B.A.

List of Members of the Central Council of the All-India Muslim League.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

1. Nawab Mohammad Muzammil-ullah Khan, Khan Bahadur, Rais, Bhikampur, District Aligarh.
2. Moulvi Habib-ur Rahman Khan Sahib, Rais, Habibgunj, District Aligarh.
3. The Hon'ble Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, B.A. (Cantab), Bar-at-Law, Aligarh.
4. Syed Abdul Rauf Esqr., Bar-at-Law, Allahabad.
5. Munshi Ebtisham Ali Sahib, Rais, Kakori, Lucknow.
6. Moulvi Syed Zahur Ahmed Saheb, B.A., LL.B., Lucknow.
7. The Hon'ble Moulvi Mohammad Naseem, B.A., Advocate, Lucknow.

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EASTERN BENGAL AND ASSAM.

8. Syed Mahmood Hasan Sahib, Barisal.
9. The Hon'ble Moulvi Abdul Majeed Sahib, B.A., LL.B., Sylhet.

WESTERN BENGAL.

10. Nawab Naseer Husain Khan, Khial, 32, Ezra Street, Calcutta.
11. Nasirul-Mumalik, Khan Bahadur, Mirza Shujaat Ali Beg, Persian Consul-General, Calcutta.
12. The Hon'ble Nawab Sarfraz Husain, Khan Bahadur, Patna.
13. The Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque, Bar-at-Law, Bankipur.
14. Mohammad Ali, Esqr., B.A. (Oxon), Calcutta.

PUNJAB.

15. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Khwaja Yusuf Shah, Honorary Magistrate, Amritsar.
16. M. Hisam-uddin, Esqr., Bar-at-Law, Lahore.
17. Sheikh Abdul Qadir, Esqr., B.A., Bar-at-Law, Lahore.
18. Fazl Husain, Esqr., Bar-at-Law, Lahore.
19. Sheikh Abdul Azeez, Esqr., B.A., Editor, The *Observer*, Lahore.

BOMBAY AND SINDH.

20. Sir Adamji Peerbhoy, Kt., Bombay.
21. The Hon'ble Moulvi Rafi-uddin Ahmad, Bar-at-Law, Poona.

MADRAS.

22. Yakub Hasan, Esqr.

BURMA.

23. Abdus Salam Rafiqi, Esqr., Rangoon.

NATIVE STATES.

24. Khan Bahadur Col. Abdul Majid Khan, Patiala.
25. A. M. K. Dehlavi, Esqr., Bar-at-Law, Dewan, Mangrol.

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List of the Members of the All-India Moslem League, corrected up to 1st June, 1911.

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

1. Sir Adamji Peerbhoy, Kt., Bombay.
2. Ebrahimbhai Adamji Peerbhoy, Esqr., Babulla Tank, Bombay.
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4. Nawab Mohammad Ibrahim Ali Khan of Kunjpura, Karnal.
5. The Hon'ble Lieutenant Malik Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana, C.I.E., Kalra, Shahpur.
6. Khan Bahadur Khan Ahmad Shah, Jullundur.
7. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Khwaja Yusuf Shah, Amritsar.
8. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Seith Adamji Mamoonji, Rawalpindi.

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Moulvi Mahbub Alum Sahib, Editor, *Paisa Akhbar*, Lahore.

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Financial Secretary.

Shaikh Gulab Din, Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore.

The Eastern Bengal and Assam Provincial Muslim League, List of the Office-bearers for 1911.

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2. Chaudhri Kazim-ud-din Ahmad Siddiqi.

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The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri.

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Moulvi Amir-uddin Ahmad, B.A.

Honorary Auditor.

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Honorary Treasurer.

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The Bengal Provincial Muslim League, list of the Office-bearers for 1911.

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2. Shamsul Ulama Moulvi Mohammad Yusuf, Khan Bahadur.
3. Nawab Nasirul Mumalik Khan Bahadur Mirza Shujaet Ali Beg.
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6. Syed Husain Shustary, Esqr.
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The Madras Presidency Muslim League, list of the Office-bearers for 1911.

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Khan Bahadur Walji Lalji Seith.
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Yakub Hasan, Esqr.

Honorary Joint Secretary.

Rauf Ahmad, Khan Bahadur, Parto.

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The Burma Provincial Muslim League, list of the Office-bearers for 1911.

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2. Y. A. Gani, Esqr.

The Central Provinces Muslim League, list of the Office-bearers for 1911.

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Vice-Presidents.

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2. Dewan Bahadur Shujaet Ali Sahib.
3. Khan Bahadur Moulvi Ali Ahmad Sahib.
4. K. B. Gholam Mustaffa Khan Sahib.
5. K. B. Sher Ali Khan Sahib.
6. Khan Sahib Aman Khan Sahib.
7. Mr. Ali Husain Ahmed Anwar.
8. Khatib Azmut Husain Sahib.
9. Moulvi Muhammad Abdul Kadir Sahib.
10. Siraj-uddin Sahib, Behla.
11. Niaz-uddin Sahib, Khaggi.
12. Seikh Bisram Bhai.

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13. Jehangir Khan Sahib.
14. Akbar Khan Sahib.
15. Meer Yakub Sahib.
16. Mohammad Khan Sahib.

Honorary Secretary.

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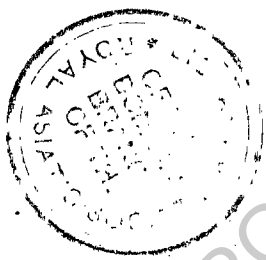

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